

THE MUSEUM *15m.*  
of  
FAR EASTERN ANTIQUITIES  
(Östasiatiska Samlingarna)  
STOCKHOLM



Bulletin N:o 22

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Stockholm 1950



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# BULLETIN OF THE MUSEUM OF FAR EASTERN ANTIQUITIES

BULLETIN N:o 1. J. G. ANDERSSON, CHOU CHAO-HSIANG, G. BOUILLARD, V. K. TING, H. RYDH, B. KARLGREN, FR. E. ÅHLANDER. (191 pages, 21 plates, 6 maps in colour, 86 figures in the text). 18 Swedish crowns. 1929.

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BULLETIN N:o 18. B. KARLGREN, M. BYLIN-ALTHIN. (498 pages, 56 plates). 60 Swedish crowns. 1946.

BULLETIN N:o 19. J. G. ANDERSSON, HANS BIELENSTEIN (163 pages, 149 plates). 60 Swedish crowns. 1947.

BULLETIN N:o 20. B. KARLGREN. (315 pages, 58 plates). 50 Swedish crowns. 1948.

BULLETIN N:o 21. B. KARLGREN, O. SIRÉN, F. LOW-BEER (206 pages, 57 plates). 50 Swedish crowns.

BULLETIN N:o 22. B. KARLGREN, K. JETTMAR, H. BIELENSTEIN, F. LOW-BEER. (167 pages, 46 plates). 40 Swedish crowns.

# THE BOOK OF DOCUMENTS

BY

*BERNHARD KARLGREN*

In the Bulletins 20 and 21 of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities I published extensive commentaries on the Shang shu or Shu king (Glosses on the Book of Documents I, 1948; II 1949), discussing on the one hand all important ancient text variants, on the other hand various attempts by Chinese scholars, ancient and modern, to interpret the numerous obscure passages and difficult words and phrases. In the present article I venture on a connected word-for-word translation of all the authentic chapters of the Shu. That my interpretation differs so very strongly from those of Legge and Couvreur only underlines the fact that the Shang shu, through its lapidary style and archaic language, is often exceedingly obscure and frequently offers passages which, from the point of view of grammar, allow of several widely divergent interpretations. Thus every new translation will inevitably be nothing more than a new attempt at interpretation.

The Chinese text given here is in the main the orthodox Ku-wen text. But wherever a variant from the Kin-wen version (or from Chou-time quotations) has seemed preferable, as developed in my above-mentioned Glosses, I have placed the orthodox version in parenthesis and after this follows the preferred version, a hook indicating the end of the substituted passage. Sometimes a Ku-wen formulation has been replaced by another which is not known through ancient quotations but is an emendation, made by some Chinese scholar or by myself; such cases are marked by the sign »em.« (= emendation).

## **Yao tien.**

1. Examining into antiquity (we find that) the emperor Yao was called Fang-hün. He was reverent, enlightened, accomplished, sincere and peaceful (mild). He was truly respectful and could be (ceding =) modest. He extensively (covered =) possessed the four extreme points (of the world). He reached to (Heaven) above and (Earth) below. — 2. He was able to make bright his lofty (great) virtue, and so he made affectionate the nine branches of the family. When the nine branches of the family had become harmonious, he distinguished and (gave marks of distinction to =) honoured the hundred clans (the gentry). When the hundred clans had become (bright =) illustrious, he harmonized the myriad states. The numerous people were amply nourished and prosperous and then became concordant. — 3.

堯典：1. 曰若稽古。帝堯曰放勸。欽明（文思安安）文塞[憲]晏晏。允恭克讓。光被橫被，四表格于上下。2. 克明俊德。以親九族。九族既睦。（平章）采章百姓。百姓昭明。協和萬邦。黎民（於變）於蕃[餘萬]時雍。3. 乃命羲和。欽若昊天。歷象日月星辰。敬授人時。4. 分命羲仲。宅嵎夷。日暘谷。寅賓出日。（平秩）采秩。東作。日中星鳥。以殷仲春。厥民析。鳥獸孳尾。5. 申命羲叔。宅南交。（平秩南訛）采秩南謌。敬致日永星火。以正仲夏。厥民因。鳥獸希革。6. 分命和仲。宅西。日昧谷。寅饑（納日）入日。（平秩）采秩。西成。宵仲星虛。以殷仲秋。厥民夷。鳥獸毛毛。7. 申命和叔。宅朔方。日幽都。（平在）采在。溯易[役]。日短星昴。以正仲冬。厥（民隩）民奥。鳥獸鴟毛。8. 帝曰。咨汝羲暨和。昔三百有六。自有六日。以閏月定四時。允釐百工。庶績咸熙。9. 帝曰。疇咨若時。登庸。放齊曰。胤子朱啓明。帝曰。吁。嚚訟。可乎。10. 帝曰。疇咨若予采驩兜曰。都共工（方鳩傷功）竊遂屬功。帝曰。吁。（靜言）靖言庸達。象恭滔天。11. 帝曰。咨四岳。湯湯洪水方割。蕩蕩懷山襄陵。浩浩滔天。下民其咨。有能俾乂。僉曰。於。鯀哉。帝曰。吁。咷哉。方命放命。圮族。岳曰。异[異]哉。試可乃已。帝曰。往欽哉。九載績用弗成。12. 帝曰。咨四岳。朕在位七十載。汝能庸命。翼朕位。岳曰。否德。忝帝位。曰。明。明揚側陋。師錫帝曰。有鯀在下。曰虞舜。帝曰。俞。予聞。如何。岳曰。瞽子。父頑母嚚。象傲。克諧以孝烝烝。乂不格姦。帝曰。我其試哉。女于時。觀厥刑于二女。釐降二女于鴻汭。嫁于虞。帝曰。欽哉。

堯典（續）：13. 懇微五典。五典可從。納于百揆。百揆時敍賓于四門。四門穆穆。納于大麓。列風雷雨弗迷。14. 帝曰。格汝舜。詢事考言。乃言底可績。三載汝陟。帝位舜讓于德（弗嗣）。弗台[怡]。15. 正月上日。受終于祖。16. 在璿璣玉衡。以齊七政。17. 肆類于上帝。禋于六宗。望于山川。徧于羣神。18. 輢五瑞。既月乃日。觀四岳羣牧。班瑞于羣后。19. 歲二月。東巡守。至于岱宗。柴望秩于山川。肆觀東后。協時月正日。同律度量衡。修五禮五玉。三帛二生一死寶。如五器。卒乃復。五月南巡守。至于南岳。如岱禮。八月西巡守。至于西岳。如初。十有一月朔巡守。至于北岳。如西禮。歸（格于）藝祖。假于禡祖。用特。20. 五載一巡守。羣后四朝。敷奏以言。明試以

And then he charged Hi and Ho<sup>1)</sup> reverently to follow the august Heaven and calculate and delineate the sun, the moon and (the other) heavenly bodies (i. e. stars and constellations) and respectfully give the people the seasons. — 4. Separately he charged Hi Chung to reside in Yü-yi, (at the place) called Yang-ku, respectfully to receive as a guest the (out-coming =) rising sun, and to arrange and regulate the works of the East. The day being of medium length and the asterism being Niao, he thereby determined mid-spring. The people disperse, the birds and beasts breed and (tail =) copulate. — 5. Again he charged Hi Shu to reside in Nan Kiao (»the southern Kiao«), to arrange and regulate the works of the South, and pay respectful attention to the (summer) solstice. The day being at its longest, and the asterism being Huo, he thereby determined mid-summer. The people avail themselves of the (suitable) time (i. e. make the best of the season). The birds and beasts are thin(-haired) and hide(-like). — 6. Separately he charged Ho Chung to reside in the West (at the place) called Mei-ku, respectfully to say farewell to the setting sun, and to arrange and regulate the achievements of the West. The night being of medium length and the asterism being Hü, he thereby determined mid-autumn. The people are at rest. The birds and beasts have glossy hair. — 7. Again he charged Ho Shu to reside in Shuo-fang (at the place) called Yu-tu, to arrange and examine the works of the North. The day being at its shortest, and the asterism being Mao, he thereby determined mid-winter. The people keep in the warmth (of their houses). The birds and beasts have bushy hair. — 8. The emperor said: Oh, you Hi and Ho, the year has 366 days, by means of an intercalary month you should fix the four seasons and complete the year. If you earnestly (regulate =) control all the functionaries, the achievements will all be resplendent. — 9. The emperor said: Who will (conform himself to =) carefully attend to this? I will raise and use him. Fang Ts'i said: Your heir-son Chu is enlightened. The emperor said: Alas, he is deceitful and quarrelsome, will he do? — 10. The emperor said: Who will (conform himself to =) carefully attend to my affairs? Huan Tou said: Oh, Kung Kung (to all sides =) everywhere has accumulated and exhibited his merits. The emperor said: Alas, he (quietly =) smoothly speaks but his actions are perverse. He is in appearance respectful, but he swells up to Heaven. — 11. The emperor said: Oh, you Sī Yüe (»Four Mountains«, a title), voluminously the great waters everywhere are injurious, extensively they embrace the mountains and rise above the hills, vastly they swell up to Heaven. The lower people groan. Is there anybody whom I could let regulate it? All said: Oh, Kun, indeed! The emperor said: Oh, he is offensive. He neglects (my) orders, he ruins his kin. (Sī) Yüe said: He is (different from others =) remarkable. Try him, and if he will do, then employ him. The emperor said: Go, and be reverent. After nine years the work was not achieved. — 12. The emperor said: Oh, you Sī Yüe, I have been in the high position (on the throne) 70 years.

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<sup>1)</sup> Originally: Hi-Ho (one person).

(If) you can (use) execute (Heaven's) mandate, I shall (withdraw from, yield =) cede my high position. (Si) Yüe said: (I have) not the virtue, I should disgrace the emperor's high position. (The emperor) said: (Make bright =) promote one (already) (bright =) illustrious, or raise one (side-placed =) humble and mean. All (giving =) to the emperor said: There is an unmarried man (below =) in a low position, called Shun of Yü. The emperor said: Yes, I have heard (of him); what is he like? (Si) Yüe said: He is the son of a blind man; his father was stupid, his mother was deceitful, (his brother) Siang was arrogant; he has been able to be concordant and to be grandly filial; he has controlled himself and has not come to wickedness. The emperor said: I will try him; I will wive him, and observe his behaviour towards my two daughters. He (regulated, arranged =) directed and sent down his two daughters to the nook of the Kuei river, to be wives in the Yü (house). The emperor said: Be reverent! — 13. He (Shun) carefully (signalized =) displayed the five rules (sc. about the 5 family relations: father, mother, elder brother, younger brother, son), the five rules (then) could be followed. He was (entered into =) appointed to the (hundred disposals =) general management, the (hundred disposals =) general management was orderly. He received the guests at the four gates, the four gates were stately. He was sent into the great hill-foot forest; violent wind, thunder and rain did not lead him astray. — 14. The emperor said: Come, you Shun, in the affairs on which you have been consulted, I have examined your words; your words have been accomplished and been capable of yielding fine results, (during) three years; do you ascend to the emperor's high position (the throne). Shun (ceded in virtue =) considered himself inferior in virtue and was not pleased (sc. with the proposal). — 15. (But) in the first month, the first day he accepted the (end =) abdication (of Yao) in (the temple of) the Accomplished Ancestor[s]. — 16. He examined the s ü n-stone apparatus and the jade traverse, and thereby (adjusted =) verified (the movements of) the seven Directors (sc. sun, moon and planets). — 17. And then he made l e i-sacrifice (the »Good sacrifice» to God on High, he made y i n-sacrifice to the six venerable ones (sc. celestial divinities). He made w a n g-sacrifice to mountains and rivers, he made (all round =) comprehensive sacrifices to all the Spirits. — 18. He gathered in the five (kinds of) insignia; and (when he had »monthed», he »dayed» =) when he had determined a month, he determined the day and saw the Si Yüe and all the Pastors, and (again) distributed the insignia to all the princes. — 19. In the 2nd month of the year he in the east (traversed =) went round to the fiefs, and came to the Venerable Tai (mountain), he made burnt-offering, he made w a n g-sacrifice successively to mountains and rivers, and then gave audience to the eastern princes. He put into accord the seasons, the months and the (correct =) proper days. He made uniform the pitchpipes, the measures of length, the measures of capacity and the weights. He attended to the five kinds of (enfeoffing) rites and the five kinds of (enfeoffing) jade insignia. The three (kinds of) silk, the two (kinds of) living (animals) and the one (kind of) dead (animal) were the gifts presented; they

were according to the five capacities (sc. of the *kung*, *hou*, *po*, *tsi*, *nan* princes). When all was finished, he returned (home). In the 5th month, he in the south went round to the fiefs, and came to the *Nan Yue* (Southern mountain), and acted in accordance with the rites of the *Tai* (sc. those described above as pertaining to the mountain of the east). In the 8th month, he in the west went round to the fiefs and came to the *Si Yue* (Western mountain) and acted as in the first case; in the 11th month, he in the north went round to the fiefs and came to the *Pei Yue* (Northern mountain), and acted in accordance with the rites of the west. When he returned, he went to (the temple of) his dead father and grandfather, and sacrificed a bull. — 20. In five years he went once round to (all) the fiefs, and four times all the princes came to court. They exensively made reports by their words; they were clearly tested by their achievements; they were (»charioted and garmented« =) endowed with chariots and garments (by norm of =) according to their works. — 21. He delimited the 12 provinces, and raised altars on 12 mountains, and he deepened the rivers. — 22. He made a (delineation =) full description of the legal punishments. Banishment is the mitigation of the five (principal) punishments (sc. branding, cutting off the nose, cutting off the feet, castration, killing), the whip is the punishment of the magistrate's courts, the rod is the punishment of the schools, (metal =) fines are the punishment for redeemable crimes. (Misfortunes =) offences by mishap are pardoned, (but) those who are self-reliant and persist are punished as miscreants. Be reverent, be reverent! The punishments, to them you should (anxiously =) carefully attend! — 23. He banished *Kung Kung* to *Yu-chou*, he banished *Huan Tou* to *Ch'ung-shan*; he made the *San Miao* skulk in *San-wei*, he killed *Kun* on *Yü-shan*. After these four condemnations, all in the world submitted. — 24. In the 28th year, *Fang-hün* died, the people were as if mourning for a dead father or mother, for 3 years within the four seas they stopped and quieted the eight (kinds of) (sounds =) music. — 25. In the first month, on the first day *Shun* went to the (temple of) the Accomplished Ancestor[s]. — 26. He consulted with the *Si Yue*, to open up the four gates (sc. towards east, south, west, north), to make clear the four (eye-sights =) views (outlooks), and to open up the four windows (sc. to observe everything in the realm). — 27. He said: Oh, you twelve Pastors, be reverent! Now be gentle with the distant ones and kind to the near ones, treat (amply =) generously the virtuous men and trust the great men, and balk the (soft =) insinuating ones; then the *Man* and *Yi* barbarians will follow and submit. — 28. *Shun* said: Oh, you *Si Yue*, is there anybody who can start achievements and make resplendent the emperor's undertakings? I shall make him occupy (the hundred disposals =) the general management, to assist in the affairs and be kind to his (equals =) colleagues (sc. helping them out with their tasks). All said: *Po Yü* (who) is master of the official works. The emperor said: Yes. Oh, you *Yü*, you shall regulate water and land, in this be energetic! *Yü* saluted and bowed down the head and ceded to *Tsi*, *Sie* and *Kao Yao*. The emperor said: Oh yes, you shall go! — 29. The

功車服以庸。21.肇十有二州。封十有二山。濬川。22.象以典刑。流宥五刑。鞭作官刑。扑作教刑。金作贖刑。眚災肆赦。怙終賊刑。欽哉欽哉。惟刑之恤哉。23.流共工于幽州。放驩兜于崇山。竄三苗于三危。殛鯀于羽山。四罪而天下咸服。24.二十有八載。帝乃殂落。百姓如喪考妣。三載四海遏密八音。25.月正元日。舜格于文祖。26.詢于四岳。闢四門。明四目。達(四聰,em.)四竅。27.(咨十有二牧曰,em.)曰。咨十有二牧。(食哉,em.)欽哉。惟時。柔遠能邇。惇德允元。而難任人。蠻夷率服。28.舜曰。咨四岳。有能書庸熙帝之載。使宅百揆。亮采惠疇。僉曰。伯禹作司空。帝曰。俞。咨禹。汝平水土。惟時懋哉。禹拜稽首。讓于稷契暨臯陶。帝曰。俞。汝往哉。29.帝曰。棄黎民阻[阻]飢。汝后稷播時百穀。30.帝曰。契。百姓不親。五品不遜。汝作司徒。敬敷五教。在寬。31.帝曰。臯陶。蠻夷猾夏。寇賊姦宄。汝作士。五刑有服。五服三就。五流有宅。五宅三居。惟明克允。32.帝曰。疇若予工。僉曰。垂哉。帝曰。咨垂。汝共工。垂拜稽首。讓于殳斨暨伯與。帝曰。俞往哉。汝諧。33.帝曰。疇若予。上下草木鳥獸。僉曰。益哉。帝曰。俞。咨益。汝作朕虞。益拜稽首。讓于朱虎熊羆。帝曰。俞。往哉。汝諧。34.帝曰。咨四岳。有能典朕三禮。僉曰。伯禹。帝曰。俞。咨伯。汝作秩宗。夙夜惟寅。直哉惟清。伯拜稽首。讓于夔龍。帝曰。俞。往欽哉。35.帝曰。夔。命汝典樂。教胄子。直而溫。寬而栗。剛而無虐。簡而無傲。詩言志。歌永言。聲依永。律和聲。八音克諧。無相奪倫。神人以和。夔曰。於。予擊石拊石。百獸率舞。36.帝曰。龍。朕聖謹說吟行。震驚朕師。命汝作納言。夙夜出納朕命。惟允。37.帝曰。咨汝二十有二人。欽哉。惟時亮天功。38.三載考績。三考黜陟幽明。庶績咸熙。分北三苗。39.舜生三十。徵庸三十。在位五十載。陟方乃死。

臯陶謨。1.曰若稽古。臯陶曰。允迪厥德。謨明弼諧。禹曰。俞。如何。臯陶曰。都。慎厥身。修思永。惇敍九族。庶明勵翼。邇可遠在茲。禹拜昌言曰。俞。2.臯陶曰。都。在知人在安民。禹曰。吁。咸若時。惟帝其難之。知人則哲。能官人安民則惠。黎民懷之。能哲而惠。何憂乎驩兜。何遷乎有苗。何畏乎巧言令色孔壬[荀]。3.臯陶曰。都。亦行有九德。亦言其人有德。乃言曰。載采采。禹曰。何。臯陶曰。寬而栗。柔而立。愿而恭。亂[亂=司]而敬。

emperor said: K'i, the multitudinous people will presently starve, you shall be Ruler of the Millet (Hou Ts'i), sow those hundred cereals. — 30. The emperor said: Sie, the hundred families are not affectionate, the five classes (sc. fathers, mothers, elder and younger brothers, sons) are not compliant, you shall be Master of the Multitude, and respectfully propagate the five instructions (sc. that they should be just, loving, friendly, respectful and filial respectively), they (are in, lie in =) depend upon large-mindedness. — 31. The emperor said: Kao Yao, the Man and Yi barbarians disturb the Hia (sc. the Chinese); they are robbers and bandits and villains and traitors. You shall be judge. The five punishments have their applications; in the five applications there are three accommodations (sc. heightening, lowering or condoning the punishment). The five banishments have their placings; in the five placings there are three (kinds of) dwellings (sc. among the barbarians, in the outer dependencies and inside the Chinese realm proper). If you are (clear-sighted =) discerning, you can be trusted. — 32. The emperor said: Who will (conform himself to =) carefully attend to my works? All said: Ch'uei! The emperor said: Yes. Oh, you Ch'uei, you shall be Master of works. Ch'uei saluted and bowed down the head and ceded to Shu, Ts'iang and Po Yü. The emperor said: Yes, go, you shall (act in harmony with =) coöperate (with them)! — 33. The emperor said: Who will (conform himself to =) carefully attend to my herbs and trees, birds and beasts (upper and lower =) in the highlands and the lowlands? All said: Yi! The emperor said: Yes. Oh, you Yi, you shall be my Forester. Yi saluted and bowed down the head and ceded to Chu, Hu, Hing and P'i. The emperor said: Yes, go, you shall (act in harmony with =) coöperate (with them)! — 34. The emperor said: Oh, Si Yüe, is there anybody who can direct my three (categories of) rites? All said: Po Yi. The emperor said: Yes. Oh, you Po, you shall be (regulator of the ritual honours =) Master of Rites. Morning and night, be respectful; in your straightness, be pure. Po saluted and bowed down the head and ceded to K'uei and Lung. The emperor said: Yes, go and be respectful! — 35. The emperor said: K'uei, I charge you to be Director of Music, to teach the descendant sons, (to be) straight and yet mild, large-minded and yet (apprehensive =) careful, (hard =) firm and yet not tyrannical, great and yet not arrogant. Poetry expresses the mind, the song is a (drawing-out =) chanting of (its) words, the notes depend upon (the mode of) the chanting, the pitch-pipes harmonize the notes. (When) the eight (kinds of) sounds (sc. those of the eight categories of instruments) can be harmonized and not encroach upon each other, Spirits and men will be brought into harmony. K'uei said: Oh, when I strike the stone, when I knock on the stone, (the hundred animals =) all the animals follow (it) and dance. — 36. The emperor said: Lung, I hate those who speak slanderously and act destructively and who agitate and alarm my multitude. I charge you to be (introducer =) conveyer of words, morning and night to give out and bring in (reports of) my decrees (cf. Ode 260, st. 3); be truthful. — 37. The emperor said: Oh, you twenty-two men, be respectful, now you shall assist

me in the works (assigned by) Heaven. — 38. Every three years he examined the achievements (of his subordinates). After three examinations he degraded or promoted the (dark =) unenlightened and the enlightened (respectively). The achievements were all resplendent. He detached and (»northered») sent to the north the San Miao.

When Shun was 30 years of age, he was called and employed for 30 years (sc. the 3 years of trial and 27 full years of regency under Yao, the latter dying in the 28th), he was on the throne (sc. after Yao's death) for 50 years and then ascending to his place (sc. in Heaven) he died.

**Kao Yao mo.**

1. Examining into antiquity (we find that) Kao Yao said: If (the ruler) sincerely pursues the course of his virtue, the counsels (offered) will be enlightened and the aid (given) will be harmonious. Yü said: Yes, but how? Kao Yao said: Oh, he should be careful about his person, the cultivation (of it) should be perpetual. If he amply regulates his nine family branches, all the enlightened ones will energetically (be wings to =) assist him; (the fact) that what is near can be caused to reach far (sc. that his influence on his nearest kin can reach to more distant people) lies in this. Yü did reverence to the splendid words and said: Yes. — 2. Kao Yao said: Oh, it lies in knowing men, it lies in giving peace to the people. Yü said: Alas, that both (these things) are (like that =) as they should be, even the Emperor finds it difficult (to bring about). If (the ruler) knows men, he is wise, and he can nominate (proper) men for office; if he gives peace to the people, he is kind; the numerous people cherish him in their (bosoms =) hearts. If he can be wise and kind, what anxiety (need there be) in regard to Huan Tou, what displacement (need there be) in regard to the lord of Miao, what fear (need there be) in regard to smart talk, a fine appearance and great (softness =) artfulness. — 3. Kao Yao said: Oh, in the actions there are nine virtues; when (we) say that this man has virtue, (we) (say =) mean that he initiates the various works (sc. it shows in his actions). Yü said: Which (are the virtues)? Kao Yao said: He is large-minded and yet apprehensive (sc. careful), he is soft and yet steadfast, he is sincere (sc. outspoken) and yet respectful, he is regulating and yet (careful =) cautious, he is docile and yet bold, he is straight and yet mild, he is great and yet punctilious, he is hard and yet (sincere, true =) just, he is strong and yet righteous. Displaying his constant norms (sc. the virtues just enumerated), he is auspicious indeed! — 4. (The one who) daily displays three (of the said 9) virtues, and morning and evening is (deep =) wise and enlightened, will (have a house =) be a dignitary. (The one who) daily severely and respectfully attends to six (of the 9) virtues, will assist in the affairs and have a state (as feudal lord). By bringing together and receiving (such men) and by widely applying them (sc. in the government), (the men of) the nine virtues will all be in service. The eminent and aged ones are in the offices, (the hundred officials =) all the officials (are there) in a host, all the functionaries are observant

of the seasons, and follow the five periods (sc. corresp. to the 5 elements); all the achievements are (consolidated =) firmly established. — 5. You (sc. the sovereign) should not (teach =) set an example of laziness or desires to the possessors of states (sc. the feudatories); it is fearsome, it is awe-inspiring, in one day, in two days there are ten thousand (minutiae =) first signs of happenings (sc. which you should be prepared for). Do not empty the various offices (sc. by placing worthless men in them). The works of Heaven, it is man who carries them out on its behalf. — 6. Heaven arranges the existing rules (sc. of family relations), we carefully regulate our five rules and (their five amplifications =) the five modes of amply practising them. Heaven regulates the existing rites, we follow our five rites (sc. pertaining to the king, the higher feudatories, the lower feudatories, the ministers and dignitaries, the officers and commoners) and their five constant norms. Together we reverence (them), concordantly we respect them, (then there is) harmony and correctness. Heaven gives charges to those who have virtue, (there are) five (degrees of) garments and their five (classes of) emblems. Heaven punishes those who have guilt, (there are) five punishments and their five (uses =) applications. In the affairs of government let us be energetic, let us be energetic! — 7. Heaven's hearing and seeing (proceed from =) work through our people's hearing and seeing, Heaven's (enlightenment =) discernment and (fearsomeness =) severity work through our people's discernment and severity (sc. against bad rulers). There is (communication =) correspondence between the upper and the lower (world). Be careful, you possessors of the soil (sc. feudal lords). — 8. Kao Yao said: My words are reasonable, they can be accomplished and practised. Yü said: Yes, your words have been accomplished and have been capable of yielding fine results. Kao Yao said: I have no knowledge, I (think =) wish daily to assist in achieving (sc. the government). — 9. The emperor said: Come, Yü, you also (have) splendid words. Yü did obeisance and said: Oh, emperor, what (can) I say? I think of daily being diligent. Kao Yao said: Ah, but how? Yü said: The great waters swelled up to Heaven, vastly they embraced the mountains and rose above the hills, the lower people were killed and (thrown down =) submerged. I mounted my four (kinds of) conveyances, and all along the mountains I cut down the trees. Together with Yi, I gave to the multitudes the fresh-(meat) foods (sc. game of the mountains). I cut passages for the nine rivers and brought them to the seas; I deepened the channels and canals and brought them to the rivers. Together with Tszi, I sowed and gave to the multitudes the hard-gotten foods (sc. cultivated grain) and the fresh(-meat) foods (sc. the products of the lowlands, grain, as well as the game of the swamps and fish of the waters). I (bartered =) exchanged and transferred those who had and those who had not any hoards of (wares =) stores. The multitudinous people then had grain-food. The myriad states (have made governing =) have become well-ordered. Kao Yao said: Yes, we shall take as norm your splendid words. — 10. Yü said: Oh, emperor, be careful about your being in the (high) position. The emperor said: Yes. Yü said: Be quiet in (your stopping-place =)

擾而毅直而溫。簡而廉。剛而塞。彊而義。彰厥有常。吉哉。4. 日宣三德。夙夜浚明有家。日嚴祇敬大德。亮采有邦。翕受敷施。九德咸事。俊乂在官。百僚師師。百工惟時。撫于五辰。庶績其凝。5. 無教逸欲有邦。兢兢業業。一日二日萬幾。無曠庶官。天工人其代之。6. 天敍有典。勑我五典五惇哉。天秩有禮。自我五禮。(有庸, em.) 五庸哉。同寅協恭和衷哉。天命有德。五服五章哉。天討有罪。五刑五用哉。政事懋哉懋哉。7. 天聰明自我民聰明。天明畏自我民明畏。達于上下。敬哉有土。8. 鼎陶曰。朕言惠。可底行。禹曰。俞。乃言底可績。鼎陶曰。予未有知。(思曰, em.) 思日贊贊襄哉。鼎陶謨(續)。9. 帝曰。來禹。汝亦昌言。禹拜曰。都帝。予何言。予思日孜孜。鼎陶曰。吁。如何。禹曰。洪水滔天。浩浩懷山襄陵。下民昏墊。予乘四載。隨山刊木。盤益奏庶鮮食。予決九川。距四海。濬畎澮。距川。盤纓播奏庶艱食鮮食。(懋遷)。貿遷。有無化。自居。烝民乃粒。萬邦作乂。鼎陶曰。俞。師汝昌言。10. 禹曰。都帝。慎乃在位。帝曰。俞。禹曰。安汝止。惟幾惟康。(其弼直)。其弼直。惟動丕應。後志。以昭受上帝。天其申命用休。11. 帝曰。吁。臣哉鄰哉鄰哉臣哉。禹曰。俞。12. 帝曰。臣作朕股肱耳目。予欲左右有民。汝翼。予欲宣力四方。汝為。予欲觀古人之象。日月星辰山龍華蟲。作會宗彝。藻火粉米。黼黻綺繡。以五采彰施于五色。作服。汝明。予欲聞六律五聲八音。(在治忽以)。七始詠以。出納五言。汝聽。13. 予達。汝弼。汝無面從。退有後言。欽四鄰。14. 庶禩讒說。若不在時。俟以明之。撻以記之。書用讐哉。欲竝生哉。工以納言。時而賜之。格則承之庸之。否則威之。15. 禹曰。俞哉帝。光[桃]天之下。至于海隅。蒼生萬邦黎獻。其惟帝臣。惟帝時舉。敷納以言。(明庶, em.) 明庶。以功車服以庸。誰敢不讓。敢不敬應。帝不時敷同日奏。罔功。16. (無若)。帝曰。無若。丹朱傲。惟慢遊是好。傲虐是作。罔晝夜。各額[詔]。罔水行舟。朋淫于家。用殄厥世。17. (予創)。禹曰。予創。若時。娶于塗山。辛壬癸甲。啓呱呱而泣。予弗子。惟荒度土功。弼成五服。至于五千。州有十有二師。外薄四海。咸建五長。各迪有功。苗禩弗卽工。帝其念哉。帝曰。迪朕德。時乃功。惟敍。鼎陶方祇厥敍。方施象刑。惟明。18. 燮曰。憂擊鳴球。搏拊琴瑟。以詠。祖考來格。虞賡在位。轂后德。

the position which you occupy, if you (are minute =) attend to the smallest beginnings, you will have peace. Your assistants should be virtuous, if you (move =) act (through them), there will be a grand response (sc. from the people). They will wait for your will, and so it will be manifest that you have received (your mandate) from God on High. Heaven will renew its mandate and (use =) apply blessings. — 11. The emperor said: Oh, (servants =) ministers, (neighbours =) associates! Associates, ministers! — 12. Yü said: Yes. The emperor said: My ministers (make =) are my legs and arms, ears and eyes. I desire to succour my people, do you assist (me)! I desire to spread my powers through the four quarters, do you act (for me)! I desire to see the symbols (emblems) of the ancient men. Sun, moon, stars, mountain, dragon, flowery animal (pheasant or phoenix?), those are made and combined on the ancestral-temple vases; waterplant, fire, peeled grain, rice, white-and-black figure (axe), black-and-blue figure, five-colour embroidery on fine dolichos cloth, with five pigments applied into five colours, those are made on the garments; do you (make them clear =) distinguish them! I want to hear the 6 pitch-pipes, the 5 notes, the (8 sounds =) sounds of the 8 kinds of instruments, and the 7 primary tones, sung in order to bring out and bring back (sc. antiphonally) the 5 (kinds of) words (to the music); do you listen! — 13. When I (transgress =) err, you shall assistingly correct me; you shall not to my face accord with me, and, having retired, have (other) words afterwards. Be reverent, you four (neighbours =) associates! — 14. All the stupid ones and calumniating talkers, if they do not abide in those (principles), by the target (i. e. archery tests) one (makes clear =) reveals them, by the scourge one imprints it on their memory, by the documents one records it; one wishes to keep them alive along with (the rest). Through the officials, reports are brought in (about them); if they are (correct =) good, one promotes them; if they come, one receives them and employs them, if not, one overawes them (sc. into obedience). — 15. Yü said: yes! Oh emperor, extensively all under Heaven, even to the corners of the seas, the numerous (conspicuous ones =) eminent men of the (greenly-growing =) flourishing myriad states all together are the servants of the emperor. The emperor promotes them. Extensively they make reports by their words, they are clearly (measured =) tested by their achievements, they are endowed with chariots and garments (by the norm of =) according to their works. Who would dare not to be (yielding =) modest, who would dare not to respond (to you) respectfully? Oh, emperor, if they do not thus extensively and all together daily make reports, there will be no achievements. — 16. The emperor said: Do not be arrogant like Chu of Tan; negligence and pleasures, only those he loved, arrogance and oppression, those he (made =) practised, without (difference between) day and night he was obstreperous, without water he went in a boat, he formed a gang of cronies and was licentious in the house, thereby he cut off his succession. — 17. Yü said: When I started work like that (sc. regulating the waters), I married in T'u-shan (sc. the lady of the T'u-shan house), on the days s i n, j e n, k u e i, k i a (sc. I stayed

with her for 4 days only); when (my son) K'i wailed and wept, I did not treat him as a son (sc. I had no leisure to attend to him). I extensively planned the land works. I assisted in establishing the five dependencies, as far as 5000 (li); in a province there are 12 districts (sc. of 3600 families, i. e. 430,000 families in all). Outside (sc. the provinces of China proper) I pushed on to the four seas; everywhere (sc. in the whole realm) I established the five (classes of) chiefs (i. e. feudal lords). Each one (of them) pursues a course that is meritorious. (But) the (prince of) Miao is foolish and has not attained to merit. May the emperor ponder it! The emperor said: That they pursue the course of my virtue — it is your meritorious work that has arranged it; Kao Yao everywhere reverently carries out your arrangements and everywhere applies the legally defined punishments, in an enlightened way. — 18. K'uei said: The sounding-boxes, the singing k'i u-stone, the small leathern drum, the guitar and the lute, when with them one sings, the (Spirits of the) ancestors come, (Yü's =) Shun's guests (sc. the Spirits) are in their high positions (at the sacrifice). All the princes (virtuously yield =) are virtuously modest. Below, there are the flutes, the hand-drums and the drums, jointly (with them) there are the hammer and the ch'u and yü sounding-boxes; the reed organs and the bells are in between. Birds and beasts dance. When the shao-music of the Pan-flutes is achieved in 9 parts, the male and female phoenixes come and (arrive =) put in an appearance. — 19. K'uei said: Oh, when I strike the stone, when I knock on the stone, all the animals follow (it) and dance, all the governors (i. e. officials) become truly harmonious. — 20. On this the emperor made a song, saying: In rightly disposing the mandate of Heaven, there are the proper times, there are the (minutiae =) first symptoms of happenings (sc. to be attended to). And then he sang, saying: When the legs and arms are joyful, and the head is elated, all the (works =) achievements are resplendent. Kao Yao saluted, he bowed down the head, and raising the voice he spoke and said: »Oh, think! In all actions and works initiated, carefully attend to your laws, be reverent! Frequently examine your achievements, be reverent! And then (continuing =) in his turn he made a song, saying: When the head is enlightened, and the legs and arms are good, all the works (affairs) are quietly prosperous. And again he sang and said: When the head is (collecting petty details =) pedantic and the legs and arms are lazy, the myriad works (affairs) go to ruin. The emperor saluted and said: Yes. Go and be reverent!

**Yü kung.**

1. Yü (laid out =) disposed the lands. Going along the mountains, he cut down the trees. He determined the high mountains and the great rivers. — 2. (In) Ki-chou, he started work on Hu-k'ou, he regulated Liang and K'i. He adjusted T'ai-yüan, and came to Yüe-yang. At T'an-huai he effected achievements, and he came to the Heng and Chang (rivers). — 3. Its (sc. the province's) soil is white and mouldy. Its revenues are of the upper 1st class, with admixture (of lower-class

讓下管鼗鼓。合止柷敔笙錦以閒。鳥獸蹻蹻。簫韶九成鳳凰來儀。19夔曰。於。予擊石拊石。百獸率舞。庶尹允誼。20帝庸作歌曰。勅天之命。惟時惟幾。乃歌曰。股肱喜哉。元首起哉。百工熙哉。臯陶拜手稽首。臯言曰。念哉。率作興事。慎乃憲。欽哉。屢省乃成欽哉。乃賡載歌曰。元首明哉。股肱良哉。庶事康哉。又歌曰。元首叢脞哉。股肱惰哉。萬事隨哉。帝拜曰。俞。往欽哉。

禹貢。1.禹敷土隨山刊木。奠高山大川。2.冀州。既載壺口。治梁及岐。既修太原。至于岳陽。覃襄底績。至于衡漳。3.厥土惟白壤。厥賦惟上上錯。厥田惟中中。恆衛既從。大陸既作。(島夷)鳥夷。皮服。夾右碣石。入于河。4.濟河惟袁州。九河既道。雷夏既澤。灘沮會同。桑土既蠶。是降丘宅土。5.厥土黑墳。厥草惟繇。厥木惟條。厥田惟中下。厥賦貞作十有三載乃同。厥貢漆絲。厥篚織文。浮于濟漯。達于河。6.海岱惟青州。嵎夷既略。灘淄其道。厥土白墳。海濱廣斥。厥田惟上下。厥賦中上。7.厥貢鹽絲。海物惟錯。岱畎絲枲。鉛松怪石。萊夷作牧。厥篚麋絲。浮于汶。達于濟。8.海岱及淮淮徐州。淮沂其乂。蒙羽其藝。大野既豬。瀕東原底平。厥土赤埴墳。草木漸包。厥田惟上中。厥賦中中。9.厥貢惟土五色。羽畎夏翟。山瞿陽孤桐。泗濱浮磬。淮夷瑣珠暨魚。厥篚玄纖綺。浮于淮泗。達于河。10.淮海惟揚州。彭蠡既豬。陽烏攸居。三江既入。震澤底定。篠簜既敷。厥草惟夭。厥木惟喬。厥土惟塗泥。厥田惟下下。厥賦下上上錯。11.厥貢惟金三品。瑤琨篠簜。葛革羽毛。惟木島夷卉服。厥篚織貝。厥包橘柚。錫貢。沿于江海。達于淮泗。12.荆及衡陽惟荊州。江漢朝宗于海。九江孔殷。沱潛既道。雲土夢作乂。厥土惟塗泥。厥田惟下中。厥賦上下。13.厥貢羽毛齒革。惟金三品。桃幹枯柏。礪石砮丹。惟箇砮楨。三邦底貢。厥名包匱。青茅。厥篚玄纖織綺。九江納錫大龜。浮于江。沱潛漢逾于洛。至于南河。14.荆河惟豫州。伊洛瀍澗。既入于河。滻波既豬。道澗澤。被孟豬。厥土惟壤。下土墳塚。厥田惟中上。厥賦錯上中。15.厥貢漆枲。絲綺。厥篚纖織。錫貢磬錯。浮于洛。達于河。16.華陽黑水惟梁州。岷山嶓既藝。沱潛既道。蔡蒙旅平。和夷底績。厥土青黎。厥田惟下上。厥賦

cases). Its fields are of the middle 2nd class. The Heng and Wei (rivers) were made to follow their courses, Ta-lu was cultivated. The Niao-yi barbarians (had) skin garments. He closely followed to the right the Kie-shī (rocks), and (entered =) arrived at the Ho. — 4. (Between) the Tsi (river) and the Ho is Yen-chou. The nine Ho (branches) were conducted. Lei-hia was (»marshed« =) formed into a marsh, and the Yung and Tsü (rivers) joined it. The mulberry grounds were (»silkwormed« =) stocked with silkworms. Then they descended from the hills and inhabited the soil. — 5. Its soil is black and fat, its grass is luxuriant, its trees are tall. Its fields are of the lower 2nd class, its revenues, after (correcting =) improving work of 13 years, tallied with that (sc. the quality of the fields). Its tribute is lacquer and silk, in its baskets (sc. presented) there are patterned woven stuffs. He floated on the Tsi and T'a (rivers) and reached the Ho. — 6. (Between) the sea and the Tai (mountain) is Ts'ing-chou. Yü-yi was defined. The Wei and Tsi (rivers) were conducted. Its soil is white and fat. Along the shores of the sea are wide salt-lands. Its fields are of the lower 1st class, its revenues are of the upper 2nd class. — 7. Its tribute is salt, fine cloth, sea products of various kinds, the Tai valley's silk, hemp, lead, pine-wood and strange stones. The Lai-yi barbarians are herdsmen. In its (sc. the province's) baskets there is mountain-mulberry silk. He floated on the Wen river and reached the Tsi. — 8. (Between) the sea, the Tai (mountain) and the Huai (river) is Sü-chou. The Huai and Yi (rivers) were regulated. The Meng and Yü (mountains) were cultivated. The Ta-ye (marsh) was (»pooled« =) drained into a lake. The Tung-yüan (plain) was levelled. Its (the province's) soil is red, clayey and fat. Plants and trees develop and become luxuriant. Its fields are of the middle 1st class, its revenues are of the middle 2nd class. — 9. Its tribute is earth of 5 colours, variegated pheasants of the Yü valley, solitary t'ung trees of (mount) Yi's south-slope, musical stones (»floating« =) lying in the water at the banks of the Si, the oyster pearls of the Huai-yi barbarians, and fish. In its (sc. the province's) baskets there are black silk and fine-textured white silk. He floated on the Huai and Si and reached the Ho. — 10. (Between) the Huai and the sea is Yang-chou. The P'eng-li (marsh) was drained into a lake, (that is) where the (»southing« birds =) birds that go south (for the winter) dwell. The three Kiang entered (into the sea). The marsh of Chen was settled. The fine bamboos and the coarse bamboos were propagated. Its (the province's) grass is delicately slender, its trees are tall, its soil is miry. Its fields are of the lower 3rd class, its revenues are of the upper 3rd class, with admixture upwards (i. e. cases of a higher class). — 11. Its tribute is bronze of three (colours =) qualities, yao and kuan stones, fine and coarse bamboos, teeth, hides, feathers, hair and timber. The Tao-yi barbarians have grass garments. In its (the province's) baskets (presented) there are woven stuffs in cowrie pattern. In the bundles (there are) oranges and pomeloes, which are presented (i. e. voluntary) tribute. He went along the Kiang and the sea and reached the Huai and the Si. — 12. Between the King (mountain) and the south-side of the Heng (mountain) is King-chou. The Kiang and Han (rivers) go to pay

court to the sea. The Nine Kiang (rivers) were greatly regulated. The T'o and Ts'ien (streams) were conducted; Yün-tu and Meng were cultivated and regulated. Its (the province's) soil is miry, its fields are of the middle 3rd class, its revenues of the lower 1st class. — 13. Its tribute is feathers, hair, teeth, hides, bronze of three qualities, ch'un, k'an, kuo and po trees, grindstones and whetstones, arrow-head stones and cinnabar. As to the kün and lu bamboos and the hu trees, three districts furnish them as tribute. The most renowned (tribute) is the three-ridged mao-grass that is wrapped and (»bowled« =) presented in bowls. In its (the province's) baskets there are dark and purple stuffs and (pearl-strings =) silk-strings (for threading) pearls. The (region of the) Nine Kiang bring in the voluntarily presented great tortoises. He floated on the Kiang, T'o, Ts'ien and Han (rivers), passed over to the Lo (river) and arrived at the southern part of the Ho. — 14. (Between) the Kiang (mountain) and the Ho is Yü-chou. The Yi, Lo, Ch'an and Kien (streams) were brought into the Ho. The Jung-po marsh was drained into a lake. He conducted (the waters of) the Ko marsh, and (made them cover =) let them flow over the Meng-chu (marsh). Its soil is mouldy, the low-lying soil is fat and black. Its fields are of the upper 2nd class, its revenues are of the middle 1st class with admixture (i. e. cases of other classes). — 15. Its tribute is lacquer, hemp, fine and coarse cloth. In its baskets (there are) fine silken fabrics and floss silk. The presented (i. e. voluntary) tribute is musical stones and whetstones. He floated on the Lo and reached the Ho. — 16. (Between) the south side of the (mountain) and the Hei-shuei (»Black Water«) is Liang-chou. The Min and Po (mountains) were cultivated. The T'o and Ts'ien streams were conducted. The Ts'ai-meng (mountain) was (laid out =) arranged and regulated. In the (region of) the Ho-yi barbarians he effected achievements. Its (the province's) soil is bluish black. Its fields are of the upper 3rd class. Its revenues are of the middle 3rd class, with 3 (kinds of) admixtures (i. e. instances of the lower and upper 3rd class, and the lower 2nd class). — 17. Its tribute is gold, iron, silver, steel, arrow-head stones, musical stones, black bears, brown-and-white bears, foxes and wild-cats. The felt(-wearing) (peoples of) Si-k'ing (»the Western Slopes«) following the Huan (river) come (thus =) this way. He floated on the Ts'ien (river), passed over to the Mien (river), entered the Wei (river) and crossed the Ho. — 18. (Between) Hei-shuei and the west-side of the Ho is Yung-chou. The Jo-shuei (river) went west, the King (river) was (attached to =) brought to the nook of the Wei (river), the Ts'i and Tsü (rivers) were made to follow their courses, there where the Feng river joined them. The King and K'i (mountains) were (laid out =) arranged, and Chung-nan and Tun-wu, all the way to Niao-shu. In the highlands and lowlands he effected achievements, all the way to the Chu-ye (marsh). The (country of) San-wei was (measured out =) regulated, the (people of) San Miao were made grandly orderly. — 19. Its (the province's) soil is yellow and mouldy, its fields are of the upper 1st class, its revenues of the lower 2nd class. Its tribute is k'i u, lin and lang-k'an stones. He floated (at =) from Ts'i-shi all the way to Lung-men

下中三錯。17.厥貢璆鐵。銀鏤砮磬。熊羆狐狸。織皮西傾因桓是來。浮于潛。逾于汎。入于渭。亂于河。18.黑水西河惟雍州。弱水既西。涇屬渭汭。漆沮既從。灋水攸同。荆岐既旅。終南惇物。至于鳥鼠。原隰底績。至于豬野。三危(既宅)既度。三苗丕敍。19.厥土惟黃壤。厥田惟上上。厥賦中下。厥貢惟瑣琳琅玕。浮于績石。至于龍門。西河會于渭汭。織皮崑崙析支渠搜西戎卽敍。20.導岍及岐。至于荆山。逾于河。壺口雷首。至于太岳。底柱析城。至于王屋。太行恒山。至于碣石。入于海。西傾朱圉鳥鼠。至于太華。熊耳外方桐柏。至于陪尾。21.導嶓冢。至于荆山。內方至于大別。岷山之陽。至于衡山。過九江。至于敷淺原。22.導弱水。至于合黎。餘波入于流沙。導黑水。至于三危。入于南海。23.導河積石。至于龍門。南至于華陰。東至于底柱。又東至于孟津。東過洛汭。至于大伾。北過洚水。至于大陸。又北播為九河。同為逆河。入于海。24.嶓冢導漾。東流為漢。又東為滄浪之水。過三澨。至于大別。南入于江。東匯澤為彭蠡。東為北江。入于海。25.岷山導江。東別為沱。又東至于澧。過九江。至于東陵。東迤北會于匯。東為中江。入于海。26.導汎水。東流為濟。入于河。(溢為)汎為榮。東出于陶丘北。又東至于澇。又東北會于汶。又北東入于海。27.導淮。自桐柏東會于泗沂。東入于海。28.導渭。自鳥鼠同穴。東會于灋。又東會于涇。又東過漆沮。入于河。29.導洛。自熊耳。東北會于澗瀍。又東會于伊。又東北入于河。30.九州攸同。(四隩)四奧既宅。九山刊旅。九川殊源。九澤既陂。四海會同。31.六府孔修。庶土交正。底慎財賦。咸則三壤。成賦。32.中邦錫土姓。祇台以德。先不距朕行。33.五百里甸服。百里賦納總。二百里納鉅。三百里納結。服。四百里粟。五百里米。34.五百里侯服。百里采。二百里男邦。三百里諸侯。35.五百里綏服。三百里揆文教。二百里奮武衛。36.五百里要服。三百里夷。二百里蔡。37.五百里荒服。三百里蠻。二百里流。38.東漸于海。西被于流沙。湖南暨聖教。(訖于)迄于四海。39.禹錫玄圭。告厥成功。

甘誓。1.大戰于甘。乃召六卿。2.王曰。嗟六事之人。予誓告汝。3.有扈氏威侮五行。怠棄三正。天用勦絕其命。[有至欲據墨子]有曰。日中子。

and the west side of the Ho, and (joined with =) arrived at the nook of the Wei (river). The felt(-wearing) peoples of K'un-lun, Si-chi and K'ü-sou, (these) western Jung were made orderly. — 20. He travelled along the K'ien and K'i (mountains), (the range) comes to King-shan; passing the Ho (there are) Hu-k'ou and Lei-shou, and it comes to T'ai-yüe; (there are) T'ai-hang and Heng-shan, and it comes to Kie-shi, and enters the sea. — (There are) the (mountains) Si-k'ing, Chu-yü, Niao shu, and (the range) comes to T'ai-huai; (there are) Hiung-er, Wai-fang, T'ung-po, and it comes to P'ei-wei. — 21. He travelled along the Po-chung (mountain); (the range) comes to King-shan; (there is) Nei-fang, and it comes to Heng-shan; it passes the Nine Kiang (rivers), and comes to the Fu-ts'i'en plain. — 22. He travelled along the Jo-shuei (river); it comes to Ho-li, and its superfluous waters enter the Floating Sands. He travelled along the Hei-shuei (river), it comes to San-wei, and enters into the southern sea. — 23. He travelled along the Ho (from) Tsi-shi; it comes to Lung-men, southwards it comes to the north side of the Hua (mountain); eastwards it comes to Chi-chu, and again eastwards comes to Meng-tsin; eastwards it passes the nook of the Lo (river) and comes to Ta-p'ei; northwards it passes the Kiang river and comes to Ta-lu; again northwards it spreads out forming the Nine Ho, and uniting (again) forms the Ni-ho, and enters the sea. — 24. (From) Po-chung he travelled along the Yang (river); it flows eastwards and becomes the Han; again flowing eastwards it becomes the Ts'ang-lang river; passing San-shi it comes to Ta-pie, and southwards enters into the Kiang; in the east, the Huei marsh forms the (lake) P'eng-li; eastwards it forms the Pei Kiang (»Northern River«) and enters into the sea. — 25. (From) Min-shan he travelled along the Kiang; eastwards branching off it forms the T'o; again eastwards it comes to the Li (river); it passes the Nine Kiang and comes to Tung-ling; eastwards it deflects and in the north unites with the Huei; eastwards it forms the Chung Kiang (Central Kiang) and enters the sea. — 26. He travelled along the Yen river; it flows eastwards, becomes the Tsi and enters the Ho; it rushes out and forms the Jung (marsh); eastwards, it issues forth to the north of T'ao-k'iu, and again eastwards it comes to the Ko (march); again towards the north-east it joins the Wen, again it (flows) northwards; (going) eastwards it enters the sea. — 27. He travelled along the Huai; it starts from T'ung-po; eastwards it joins with the Si and the Yi; eastwards it enters the sea. — 28. He travelled along the Wei; it starts from Niao-shu-t'ung-hüe; eastwards it joins the Feng; again eastwards it joins the King; again eastwards it passes the Ts'i and the Tsü and enters the Ho. — He travelled along the Lo; it starts from Hiung-er, towards the north-east it joins the Kien and Ch'an; again eastwards it joins the Yi; again towards the north-east it enters the Ho. — 30. The nine provinces were harmonized (made uniform); the (four inside areas =) areas inside the four quarters were made inhabited; the nine mountains had their trees cut down and were (laid out =) arranged; the nine rivers had their sources cleaned; the nine marshes were banked; the four seas (were joined =) got their affluents. — 31. The six treasures (i. e. resources of nature: water, fire, metal, wood, earth, grain) were

well cared for. The various soils were compared and determined, care was applied (in determining) their value and revenues, in all cases one took as norm the three (classes of) soils and decided the revenues. — 32. In the central kingdom he (the emperor) conferred lands and clan-names (sc. on the feudal lords), only according to their virtue they (advanced =) were promoted, (such who) did not go counter to our course. — 33. 500 li (sc. in each direction from the capital) are the *t i e n f u* royal domain proper; (the 1st) 100 li (from the capital) bring as revenue bundled grain with the straw; the 2nd 100 li bring the ears, the 3rd 100 li bring the straw; (these three subdivisions) do labour duty; the 4th 100 li bring grain in the husk; the 5th 100 li bring cleaned grain. — 34. 500 li (sc. in each direction, outside the *t i e n f u*) are the *h o u f u* princes' zone; (the 1st) 100 li are the *t s ' a i* appanages, the 2nd 100 li are the states of the *n a n* princes, the (remaining) 300 li are the (lands of) the *ch u h o u* feudal princes (generally). — 35. 500 li (sc. in each direction outside the *h o u f u*) are the *s u e i f u* pacification zone; the 1st 300 li take measures for culture and instruction; the (remaining) 200 make exertions for war and defence. — 36. 500 li (sc. in each direction, outside the *s u e i f u*) are the *y a o f u* the zone of compacts; (the first) 300 li are the *Yi* barbarians; the (remaining) 200 li are the (grass-land =) steppe (people). — 37. 500 li (sc. in each direction, outside the *y a o f u*) are the *h u a n g f u* wild zone; (the 1st) 300 li are the *Man* barbarians, the (remaining) 200 li are the nomads. — 38. In the east it (the realm) dips down into the sea, in the west it extends to the Floating Sands; in the north and the south it (causes to come =) brings the famous (royal) instructions (i. e. the Chinese civilization); it reaches all to the four seas. — 39. *Yü* was given (sc. by the emperor) a black *k u e i* tessera, announcing that he had achieved his work.

#### Kan shi.

1. There was a great battle in Kan. One convoked the six minister-generals. —
2. The king said: Oh, you six (functionaries =) ministers, I solemnly declare and tell you. — 3. The lord of Hu violates and despises the 5 elements, he neglects and discards the 3 governing forces (sc. of Heaven, Earth and Man). Heaven therefore cuts off his appointment. He further said: During the day, now with the lord of Hu I shall fight about (one day's fate =) the fate to be decided in one day; and you, ministers, dignitaries and commoners, I do not covet your fields or your guarded lands. Now I (furnish and practise =) execute Heaven's punishment. —
4. If those on the left do not do their duty on the left, you do not (furnish =) execute my orders. If those on the right do not do their duty on the right, you do not execute my orders. If the charioteers do not (govern =) correctly manage their horses, you do not execute my orders. — 5. If you (use =) obey my orders, you will be rewarded in (the temple of) my ancestors; if you do not obey my orders, you will be killed at the altar of the Soil; then I will kill you with your wives and children.

與有扈氏爭一日之命。且爾御大夫庶人。予非爾田野葆土之欲。今予惟(恭行)共行天之罰。4. 左不攻于左。汝不(恭命)共命。右不攻于右。汝不(恭命)共命。御非其馬(之正)之政。汝不(恭命)共命。5. 用命賞于祖。弗用命戮于社。予則孥戮汝。

湯誓。1. 王曰。格爾衆庶。悉聽朕言。非台小子敢行稱亂。有夏多罪。天命殛之。2. 今爾有衆。汝曰。我后不恤我衆。舍我稽事。而(割正)割政。夏予惟聞汝衆言。夏氏有罪。予畏上帝。不敢不正。3. 今汝其曰。夏罪其如台。夏王率遏衆力。率割夏邑。有衆率怠弗協。曰時日(曷喪)害喪。予及汝皆亡。夏德若茲。今朕必往。4. 爾尚輔予一人。致天之罰。予其大賚汝。爾無不信。朕不食言。爾不從誓言。予則孥戮汝。罔有攸赦。

盤庚。1. 盤庚遷于殷。民不適有居。率籲衆。(感出)咸出矢言。2. 曰。我王來既。爰宅于茲。重我民。無盡劉。不能胥匡以生。卜稽曰其如台。3. 先王有服。恪謹天命。茲猶不常寧。不常厥邑。于今五邦。今不承于古。罔知天之斷命。矧曰其克從先王之烈。4. 若顛木之(有由蘖)有專枝。天其永我命于茲新邑。紹復先王之大業。底綏四方。5. 盤庚敷于民(由乃, em.)由厥在位。以常舊服正法度。曰。無或敢代小人之攸箴。王命衆悉至于庭。6. 王若曰。格汝衆。予告汝。訓汝。猷黜乃心。無傲從康。7. 古我先王亦惟圖任舊人共政。王播告之。修不匿厥指。王用丕欽。罔有逸言。民用丕變。今汝聒聒。起信險膚。予弗知乃所訟。8. 非予自荒茲德。惟汝(含德)舍德。不惕予一人。予若觀火。予亦拙謀作乃逸。9. 若網在綱。有條而不紊。若農服田力穡。乃亦有秋。10. 汝克黜乃心。施實德于民。至于婚友。丕乃敢大言。汝有積德。11. 乃不畏戎毒于遠邇。惰農自安。不昏作勞。不服田畝。越其閭有黍稷。12. 汝不和吉言于百姓。惟汝自生毒。乃敗禍姦宄。以自災于厥身。乃既先惡于民。乃奉其恫。汝(悔)躬悔命。何及。(相時憲民)相時散懶民。猶胥顧于箴言。其發有逸口。矧予制乃短長之命。汝曷弗告朕。而胥動以浮言。恐沈于衆。(若火)惡之易也。若火之燎于原。不可嚮邇。其猶可撲滅。則惟汝衆自作弗靖。非予有咎。13. 遷任有言曰。人惟求舊。器非求舊。惟新。14. 古我先王。暨乃

T'ang shi.

1. The king said: Come, you multitudes, all listen to my words. It is not that I, the small child, dare act so as to start rebellion. The lord of Hia has much guilt, Heaven has charged (me) to kill him. — 2. Now, you multitude there, you say: Our ruler (king Kie) has no compassionate care for our multitude, he sets aside our husbandry works and (cuttingly governs =) has an injurious government. I have heard the words of you all; the lord of Hia has guilt, I fear God on High, I dare not but (correct =) punish him. — 3. Now you will surely say that Hia's guilt is (in accordance with me =) such as I say. The Hia king in all (ways) obstructs the efforts of the multitude, in all (ways) he injures the city of Hia, the multitude are all slack and disaffected. They say: That one (sc. Kie) daily injures and destroys, I and you shall all together perish. Such is the (virtue =) conduct of (the king of) Hia. Now I will necessarily march. — 4. May you support me, the One Man (sc. the sovereign), to apply Heaven's punishment. I will then greatly reward you. May there be none of you who do not believe me. I do not eat my words (sc. I keep my promises). If you do not (follow =) obey the words of this proclamation, I will kill you with your wives and children; there will be nobody who will be pardoned.

P'an Keng.

1. P'an Keng moved to Yin. The people would not go and (have a dwelling =) settle there. He called the multitude, and solicitously issued (this) solemn declaration. — 2. He said: Our (previous) king came, and, having done so, he settled here (sc. in the old capital). He attached great importance to our people (so that) they should not be destroyed and killed. (Now) they cannot succour each other in order to live. I have taken tortoise oracle and enquired, and (the Spirits) say that it is (in accordance with me =) as I say. — 3. When the former kings had some business, they reverently (attended to =) obeyed the commands of Heaven. But (in this =) in doing so, they still did not always have tranquillity; they did not perpetuate their cities: at present (there have been) five capitals. If we now do not continue the old (practice) (it means that) we do not understand that Heaven will cut off our mandate; how much less shall we be able to follow up the brilliant deeds of the former kings! — 4. Just as a fallen tree has its new shoots, (so) Heaven will prolong our mandate in this new city, to continue and renew the former kings' great achievements, and effect tranquillity in the four quarters. — 5. When P'an Keng instructed the people, he started with those of them who were in high positions (sc. officers) and according to the constant and old (affairs =) procedures he determined the laws and regulations. He said: Let none of you dare to suppress anything that the small people say in remonstrance. The king ordered the multitude all to come to the court-yard. — 6. The king spoke thus: Come, you multitude. I will tell you and teach you, may you still expurgate your hearts and not disdainfully follow (your) ease. — 7. Anciently, our former kings also (planned =) took

measures to charge veterans to (furnish =) execute the government. When the king made a proclamation or announcement to them, they elaborated it (i. e. made it perfectly clear) and did not conceal its (aim =) purport. The king therefore was greatly (reverent =) attentive (sc. in his orders), and had no frivolous words. Hence the people were greatly (changeable =) amenable (sc. to the king's wishes). Now you are (making a deafening noise =) clamouring; in order to (raise =) invite confidence you endanger your skins, but I do not know what you are wrangling about. — 8. It is not that I neglect this (virtue =) goodwill (sc. between ruler and subjects), it is you who reject the goodwill and do not (fear =) respect me, the One Man. I am as if watching a conflagration (i. e. this sedition); and yet I have (only) (ineptly =) according to my poor capacity planned to (create your ease =) make it comfortable for you. — 9. It is like a net, resting on the leading-rope; it is orderly and does not become tangled; it is like a farmer who works the fields and vigorously reaps: he also gets a crop. — 10. If you can expurgate your hearts and bestow true virtue (i. e. goodness) on the people, (so that it) reaches to kin and friends, then grandly can one dare amply to affirm that you have an (accumulated =) abundant virtue. — 11. Now you do not fear the great hatred (you incur) far and near. When a lazy farmer takes his own ease, and does not toil (evening-wise =) until evening, and does not work in his fields and acres, he will not have any millet. — 12. When you do not speak friendly and pleasantly to the people, you create hatred against yourself. You are destructive, baleful, villainous and traitorous, and thus bring calamity on your own persons. When you now have first become hated by the people, and then receive the pain, what does it avail that you regret your fate? Look at those dispersed (homeless) people, even they (sc. in spite of their suffering) are considerate in their remonstrating words, lest in their utterances they should have reckless mouths; how much the more then I, in formulating your short or long orders! Why do you not tell me, but excite each other by loose talk? I fear that it will sink down deep in the minds of the multitude. The (facility =) easy success of evil is like a fire's blazing on the plain: it cannot be approached, how much the less can it be beaten down and extinguished? (In this way), then, it is all of you who yourselves create the unrest, it is not I who have any fault. — 13. Chi Jen has said: »In men one seeks such of old standing; in utensils one does not seek old ones, but new. — 14. Anciently our former kings together with your grandfathers and fathers (together came to =) shared ease and toil; would I dare to apply and use irregular punishments? For generations they have counted your labours; I do not cut off your (good things =) prosperity. Now when I offer the great sacrifices to the former kings, your ancestors follow and together with them enjoy them. When I make your fortune or make your disaster (sc. depose you), I likewise dare not apply and use incorrect (virtue =) morals. — 15. I tell you about (i. e. point out to you) the difficulties (sc. to be overcome), just as an archer (has his aiming =) aims (at the target). Do not consider (too) old and despise the grown-up men, do not consider too weak and

祖乃父胥及逸勤。予敢動用非罰。世選爾勞。予(不掩)不絕爾善。茲予大  
 享于先王。爾祖其從與享之。作福作災。予亦不敢動用非德。15.予告汝  
 于難。若射之有志。汝(無侮老成人)無老侮成人。無弱孤有幼。各長于厥  
 居。勉出乃力。聽予一人之作猷。16.無有遠邇。用罪伐厥死。用德彰厥善。  
 邦之臧。惟汝衆邦之不臧。惟予一人有佚罰。17.凡爾衆其惟致告。自今  
 至于後日。(各恭)各共爾事。齊乃位。度乃口。罰及爾身弗可悔。18.盤庚作  
 惟涉河。以民遷。乃詰民之弗率。誕告用亶。其有衆咸造(勿喪)。勿喪在  
 王庭。盤庚乃登進厥民。19.曰。明聽朕言。無荒失朕命。20.嗚呼。古我前  
 后。罔不惟民之承保。后胥感鮮。以不浮于天時。21.殷降大虐。先王不  
 懷厥攸作。視民利。用遷。汝曷弗念我古后之聞。承汝俾汝。惟喜康共  
 [鞏]。非汝有咎。比于罰。22.予若籲懷茲新邑。亦惟汝故。以丕從厥志。  
 23.今予將試以汝遷。安定厥邦。汝不憂朕心之攸困。乃咸大不宣乃心。  
 欽念以忧。動予一人。爾惟自鞠自苦。若乘舟。汝弗濟。臭厥載。爾忧不屬  
 [獨]。惟胥以沈。不其(或稽)或迪。自怒曷瘳。24.汝不謀長。以思。乃災。  
 汝誕勤憂。今其有今。罔後。汝何生在上。25.今予命汝一無起穢以自負。  
 恐人倚乃身。迂乃心。26.予(逐)御續乃命于天。予豈汝威。用奉畜汝衆。  
 27.予念我先神后之勞爾先。予丕克羞爾。用懷爾。28.然失于政。陳于茲。  
 高后丕(乃崇)乃知。降罪疾。曰。曷虐朕民。29.汝萬民乃不生生。暨予一  
 人猷同心。先后丕降與汝罪疾。曰。曷不暨朕幼孫有比。故有爽德。自上  
 其罰汝。汝罔能迪。30.古我先后既勞乃祖乃父。汝共作我畜民。汝有戕  
 則在乃心。我先后綏乃祖乃父。乃祖乃父乃斷棄汝。不救乃死。31.茲予  
 有亂[亂:司]政同位。具乃貝玉。乃祖乃父丕乃告我高后。曰。作丕刑于  
 胤孫。迪高后丕(乃崇)乃興。降弗祥。32.嗚呼。今予告汝不易。永敬大恤。  
 無胥絕遠。汝(分猷)比猷。念以相從。各(設中)翕中于乃心。33.乃有不  
 吉不迪。顛越不恭。曹遇[愚]姦宄。我乃剗殄滅之。無遺育。無俾易種  
 于茲新邑。34.往哉生生。今予將試以汝遷。永建乃家。35.盤庚既遷。奠  
 厥攸居。乃正厥位。綏爰有衆。36.曰。無(戲怠。懋建)戲台[怠]民懋。[uee.勵]  
 建大命。37.今予其敷心。腹腎腸。歷告爾百姓于朕志。罔罪爾衆。爾無

helpless the young ones (sc. let everybody come along to the new capital). May each of you preside over his abode (sc. his district in the new capital), strive to exert his strength, and listen to the plans which I, the One Man, make. — 16. There will be no (distinction between) distant and near. If you (use =) commit crimes, I will (punishing effectuate your death =) punish you by death, if you (use virtue =) show good behaviour, I will display your goodness. If the state is good, it is (due to) you all; if the state is not good, it is because I, the One Man, (have failing punishments =) have failed in applying the punishments. You should all effectuate the announcement. From now until future days, each of you (furnish =) execute your work, adjust your positions, (rule =) regulate your mouths. When the punishment reaches your bodies, (you cannot repent =) your repenting is of no avail. — 18. P'an Keng (rose =) started and crossed the Ho (River) and moved with the people. Then he lectured those of the people who would not follow, and grandly informed them with sincerity. The crowd that was there (sc. of discontented) all came but carelessly and (familiarly =) nonchalantly they stood in the king's hall. P'an Keng then mounted and brought his people forward. — 19. He said: Clearly hear my words, do not (waste =) reject and neglect my orders. — 20. Oh, anciently, of our former princes there were none who did not take care of and guard the people. Towards them the princes were thoughtful and good<sup>1)</sup>; therefore they were not frivolous in regard to the times of Heaven (sc. the epochs of natural disasters). — 21. When grandly there were sent down great calamities, the former princes did not cherish (that where they started =) their original place; they considered the people's profit and then moved. Why do you not remember what you have heard of our ancient princes? When I (receive =) take care of you and direct you, it is only that you shall rejoice in peace and (steadiness =) safety; it is not that you have any guilt and have (come to =) incurred a punishments (i. e. banishment). — 22. That I thus call you to cherish this new city is because of yourselves: because you so greatly follow your (own) wishes (sc. you are so obstinate). — 23. Now that I shall try to move with you, and tranquillize and settle our state, you are not concerned for that by which my heart is distressed. You all greatly do not proclaim your (hearts =) ideas, or respectfully think of moving me, the One Man, by your sincerity. You only exhaust and distress yourselves. It is like going in a boat: if you do not cross (the water), you spoil your load (i. e. you must not tarry in moving). You are truly not alone; we shall all together sink in ruin. If you perchance do not go forward (sc. to the new place), to be angry against yourselves (afterwards), what does it (cure =) avail? — 24. If you do not plan far-reachingly, so as to think of your disaster, you greatly encourage the grief (to come). Now there is a present, but there is no (afterwards =) future; how will you be able to live (above =) upon the earth (sc. not land in the grave). — 25. Now I order you, all (not to start =) to beware of starting (dirty =) wicked things, and making yourselves foul. I fear

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<sup>1)</sup> Or, with another version: «were loftily good».

that people will (pull aside your bodies =) lead you astray and deflect your hearts. — 26. I go to welcome and preserve your endowment from Heaven (sc. in the new place). Do I overawe you? (No), by this I take care of and (nourish) sustain you all. — 27. I think of our former divine rulers' toiling for your forefathers; I (also) can grandly (nourish =) sustain you, and thus (cherish you =) show you kindness. — 28. But I have failed in the government and tarried here. The high rulers (i. e. ancestors) grandly know about it and send down suffering for the crime, saying: why do you oppress our people? — 29. You, the myriad people, if you do not (keep alive the life =) make your livelihood, and with me, the One Man, (plan =) endeavour to be of one (heart =) mind, the former rulers will grandly send down upon you suffering for the crime, saying: why do you not concur with our young descendant? Thus, if you have (an aberrant =) a faulty virtue, from above they will punish you, and you will (have nothing which you could go along =) have no way out. — 30. Anciently our former rulers toiled for your grandfathers and fathers; you all are my (people to be nourished =) people whom I sustain. If you have (injury =) injurious intents in your hearts, our former rulers will (stop =) restrain your grandfathers and fathers, (so that) your grandfathers and fathers will reject you and not save you from death. — 31. Now I have those who share the high positions in the government, but you hoard your cowries and jade. Your grandfathers and fathers grandly report to our high rulers (sc. ancestors), saying: make great punishments for our descendants; and they lead on the high rulers grandly to rise and send down inauspicious things. — 32. Oh! Now I am telling you about something that is not easy. Perpetually pay careful attention to the great (anxieties =) difficulties, do not cut off and alienate yourselves (from me). You should (join =) concur in my plans and thoughts, and so follow me; each one of you should conform to the correct norm in your heart. — 33. If there are inauspicious ones and such who do not (walk it =) pursue the (proper) path, who are fallen and disrespectful, rash and stupid, villainous and traitorous, then I will destroy and annihilate them, and there will be no remaining (reared ones =) children brought up. I will not let them (renew =) propagate their seed in this new city. — 34. Go and (keep alive the life =) make your livelihood; now I shall try to move with you and forever establish your homes. — 35. When P'an Keng had moved, he fixed their (where they dwelled =) dwelling places, and then he determined their (public) emplacements. He tranquillized and (lifted =) encouraged his multitude. — 36. He said (sc. to the leaders): Do not play and neglect the people, exert yourselves in firmly establishing the great mandate. — 37. Now I will (spread out, lay open =) disclose my heart and belly, reins and bowels, and (seriatim =) in all details tell you people my will. I will not put guilt on you all, you shall not jointly be angry, and band together to speak slanderingly of me, the One Man. — 38. Anciently our former kings (brought =) added much to the earlier achievements, they went to the mountains. Therefore, when (Heaven) sent down to us (sc. our people) evil dispositions (i. e. recalcitrant minds, not

共怒。協比讒言予一人。38. 古我先王將多于前功。適于山。用降我凶德。嘉績于朕邦。39. 今我民用蕩析離居。罔有定極。爾謂朕。曷震動萬民以遷。40. 肆上帝將復我高祖之德。亂[罰]司越我家。朕及[急]。篤敬恭承民命。用永地于新邑。41. 肆予沖人非廢(厥謀, em.)乃謀。弔由靈各[格]。非敢違卜。用宏茲貴。42. 鳴呼。邦伯師長。百執事之人。尚皆隱[隴]哉。43. 予其懋簡相爾。念敬我衆。44. 朕不肩好貨。(敢恭)敢共生生。鞠人謀人之保居。敍欽。45. 今我既羞告爾于朕志。若否罔有弗欽。46. 無總于貨寶。生源自庸。47. 式敷民德。永肩一心。

高宗肜日。1. 高宗肜日越有雊雉。2. 祖己曰。惟先格王。正厥事。3. 乃訓于王曰。惟天監下民。典厥義。降年有永有不永。非天天民。民中絕命。4. 民有不若德。不聽。罪。天(既孚命)既付命。正厥德。乃曰其如台。5. 鳴呼。王司)王嗣敬民。罔非天胤。典祀(無豐)無禮于昵。

西伯戡黎。1. 西伯既戡黎。祖伊恐。奔告于王。2. 曰。天子。天既訖我殷命。格人元龜。罔敢知吉。非先王不相我後人。惟王(淫戲)淫虐。用自絕。3. 故天棄我。不有康食。不虞天性。不迪率典。4. 今我民罔弗欲喪。曰。天曷不降威。大命不摯。今王其如台。5. 王曰。嗚呼。我生不有命在天。6. 祖伊反曰。嗚呼。乃罪多參在上。乃能責命于天。7. 殷之即喪。指乃功。不無戮于爾邦。

微子。1. 微子若曰。父師少師。殷其弗或亂[罰]司正四方。我祖底遂陳于上。我用沈酣于酒。用亂敗厥德于下。2. 殷罔不小大。好草竊蠭宄。卿士師師非度。凡有辜罪。乃罔恒獲。小民方興。相為敵讐。今殷(其淪喪)其典喪。若涉大水。其無津涯。殷遂喪。越至于今。3. 曰。父師少師。我其發(出狂)出往。吾家耄遷于荒。今爾無指[蓄]告。予顛隣。若之何其。4. 父師若曰。王子(天毒降)天篤降災荒殷邦。5. 乃罔畏畏。喟其耆長。舊有位人。今殷民乃攘竊神祇之犧牲。用以容將[鬻]食。無災。7. 降豈殷民。用乂(讐斂)綢斂。召敵讐不怠。罪合于一。多瘠罔詔。8. 商今其有災。我興受其敗。商(其淪喪)其典喪。我罔為臣僕。詔王子出迎。我舊云刻子。王子弗出。我乃顛隣。9. 自靖人自獻于先王。我不顧行遷。

wanting to move), they (yet) had fine achievements in our state. — 39. Now when our people because of shakings and scatterings live dispersed, and have no fixed (where to go =) repair, you say to me: Why do you (shake =) scare and (move =) excite the myriad people by the removal? — 40. Now God on High will restore my high ancestor's (i. e. T'ang's) virtue, (regulating =) putting in order our house; I will eagerly and honestly, carefully and respectfully take care of the people, and so perpetuate the emplacement in the new city. — 41. And now I, young man, do not reject your counsels, I graciously follow the intelligent and discerning ones, but I dare not disobey the tortoise oracle; and so I make grand this great (undertaking). — 42. Oh, you rulers of states, you leaders of the multitude, you hundred (kinds of) managers of affairs, may you all correct yourselves! — 43. I will exert myself in examining and inspecting you, I tell and warn (you), my multitude. — 44. I do not (shoulder =) carry any love of riches, I (only) presume to furnish the means to make your livelihood, to nourish people, to plan for people's secure residences; may you (*seriatim* =) each in his place respect this! — 45. Now I have presented to you and told you about my will. Whether you agree or not, there must be none who do not respect it. — 46. Do not attach yourselves to riches and precious things, employ yourselves in making your livelihood. — 47. Use and propagate the people's virtue, forever carry a single mind.

**Kao Tsung jung ji.**

1. On the day of Kao Tsung's second-day sacrifice, there was a singing pheasant (sc. a bad omen). — 2. Tsu Ki said: We shall come forward and go to the king and correct his (sacrificial) performance. — 3. And so he lectured to the king and said: When Heaven inspects the people below, it takes as norm their righteousness and sends down (years =) life either long or not long. It is not that Heaven prematurely kills the people, the people in the middle cut off their lives. — 4. When among the people there are those who do not comply with virtue and do not acknowledge their guilt, Heaven has (always) given its grant of life, (adjusting =) determining their virtue. And thus I say: it is (in accordance with me =) as I tell you. — 5. Oh, when the kings become successors in taking care of the people, there are none who are not the successors of Heaven; in the standard sacrifices (sc. to the royal spirits), do not perform rites in familiarity.

**Si po k'an Li.**

1. When the Prince of the West had killed (the prince of) Li, Tsu Yi became afraid and hastened to and told the king; he said: — 2. Son of Heaven, Heaven has made an end to the mandate of Yin. (We have said:) »We come to you, great tortoise», but it (sc. the oracle) has not dared to foresee any luck. It is not that the former kings do not aid us later men, but the king is dissolute and tyrannical and thereby makes an end to himself. — 3. Therefore Heaven rejects us, and we have

no (means of) eating our food in tranquillity. (The king) does not consider his heavenly nature, he does not follow the statutes. — 4. Now, of our people there are none who do not desire (your) ruin, and they say: »Why does Heaven not send down its terror, (why has) the great mandate not been seized?» Now, may the king agree with me. — 5. The king said: Oh, my life, has it not been decreed in Heaven? — 6. Tsu Yi returned, saying: Oh, your crimes in great numbers are accumulated on high, (and yet) you can lay the responsibility for your life on Heaven! — 7. When Yin is on the point of perishing, if you (effectuate =) carry through your deeds, you cannot but be killed in your state.

#### Wei Tsai.

1. The Prince of Wei spoke thus: Senior Master and Junior Master! Yin will not be likely to govern well the four quarters. What our ancestor achieved and accomplished was (displayed =) signalized above (sc. in Heaven); but we (using it =) availing ourselves of this (sc. his merits) are plunged in and mad with wine,<sup>1)</sup> and thereby overturn and destroy his virtue here below. — 2. Among the Yin there are none who do not — whether small or great — love grossly to steal and commit villainy and treachery. The dignitaries and officers in a great host are doing unlawful things, (each of them =) all have guilt, but they are not regularly caught. The small people everywhere rise and fight each other. Now, in Yin, the statutes have been lost. It is like wading a great river without (having =) finding ford or bank. Yin is on the point of perishing and (it has come to now =) the time has arrived. — 3. He said: Senior Master and Junior Master. I will start and go away; the old men of our house have withdrawn in senility. Now you do not (effectuate =) make any announcement (to me); if I collapse, what is to be done? — 4. The Senior Master spoke thus: King's son! Heaven (massively =) heavily sends down disaster and wastes the state of Yin. — 5. And one does not fear that which should be feared, one offends the aged elders and the men who of old have the high positions. — 6. Now the Yin people steal the auspicious and faultless sacrificial animals of the Spirits of Heaven and Earth, and use them to (adorn =) make fine their (cooking and eating =) repasts, without (fear of) disaster. — 7. When I look down and survey the people of Yin (I find that) in applying the government one (amply =) heavily levies taxes, and one incurs hostility and enmity (untiringly =) incessantly. The guilt is centred in one person (sc. the king), there is much suffering but no appeal. — 8. When Shang now will have its disaster, I will rise and (receive =) submit to its ruin. When, in Shang, its statutes have been lost (i. e. the government overturned), I shall not be a servant (sc. to a new house). I tell you, king's son, to proceed; I long ago said that one would injure you. If you, king's son, do not go away, we shall collapse (i. e. the whole family will perish). The man who (brings

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<sup>1)</sup> Or, with the Kin-wen version, simply: are plunged in wine.

牧誓。1. 時甲子昧爽。王朝至于商郊牧野。乃誓。王左杖黃鉞。右秉白旄以麾。曰。逖矣西土之人。2. 王曰。嗟我友邦冢君。御事司徒。司馬司空。亞旅師氏。千夫長百夫長。3. 及庸蜀羌羣微盧彭漢人。4. 稱爾戈。比爾干。立爾矛。予其誓。5. 王曰。古人有言曰。牝雞無晨。牝雞之晨。惟家之索。6. 今商王受惟婦言是用。昏[泯]棄厥肆祀弗答。昏[泯]棄厥遺王父母弟不迪。乃惟四方之多罪逋逃是崇是長。是信是使。是以大夫御士。俾暴虐于百姓。以姦宄于商邑。7. 今予發惟(恭行)共行天之罰。今日之事。不愆于大步七步。乃止齊焉。夫子勸哉。8. 不愆于四伐五伐六伐七伐。乃止齊焉。勸哉夫子。9. 尚桓桓。如虎如貔如熊如羆。于商郊弗(透克)禦克。奔以役西土。勸哉夫子。10. 爾所弗勸。其于爾躬有戮。

洪範。1. 惟十有三祀。王訪于箕子。2. 王乃言曰。嗚呼箕子。惟天陰隲下民。相協厥居。我不知其彝倫攸敍。3. 箕子乃言曰。我聞在昔鯀陼洪水。汨陳其五行。帝乃震怒。不畀洪範九疇。彝倫攸敍。鯀則殛死。禹乃嗣興。天乃錫禹洪範九疇。彝倫攸敍。初一曰五行。次二曰(敬用)羞用。五事。次三曰農用八政。次四曰協用五紀。次五曰建用皇極。次六曰乂用三德。次七曰明用稽疑。次八曰念用庶徵。次九曰(嚮)饗。用五福。威用六極。5. 一五行。一曰水。二曰火。三曰木。四曰金。五曰土。水曰潤下。火曰炎上。木曰曲直。金曰從革。土曰稼穡。潤下作鹹。炎上作苦。曲直作酸。從革作辛。稼穡作甘。6. 二五事。一曰貌。二曰言。三曰視。四曰聽。五曰思。貌曰恭。言曰從。視曰明。聽曰聰。思(曰睿)曰睿。恭作肅。從作乂。明作哲。聰作謀。睿容作聖。7. 三八政。一曰食。二曰貨。三曰祀。四曰司空。五曰司徒。六曰司寇。七曰賓。八曰師。8. 四五紀。一曰歲。二曰月。三曰日。四曰星辰。五曰歷數。9. 五皇極。皇建其有極。斂時五福。用敷錫厥庶民。惟時厥庶民于汝極錫。汝保極。10. 凡厥庶民無有淫朋。人無有比德。惟皇作極。11. 凡厥庶民有猷有為有守。汝則念之。不協于極。不罹于咎。皇則受之。而康而色曰。予攸好德。汝則錫之福。時人斯其惟皇之極。12. 無虐覽獨。而畏高明。13. 人之有能有為。使羞其行。而邦其昌。凡厥正人。既富方穀。汝弗能使有好于而家。時人斯其幸。于其(無好德)無好。

peace to himself =) saves himself, (presents himself to =) devotes himself to (the Spirits of) the former kings; let us not take into consideration that we abscond (sc. it is nothing to be ashamed of).

**Mu shi.**

1. The time was the k i a - t s i day at daybreak; the king in the morning came to Mu ye (the Mu fields) by the suburbs of Shang, and then he made a solemn declaration. The king in the left hand wielded the yellow battle-axe, in the right hand he held the white oxtail flag and waved it aloft. He said: From far away you are, people from the Western regions. — 2. The king said: Oh, you great princes of my friendly states, you managers of affairs, director of the multitude, director of the horse, director of work and next-following officers, instructor, captains of 1000 men and captains of 100 men. — 3. And you, men of Yung, Shu, K'iang, Mou, Wei, Lu, P'eng and Pu. — 4. Lift your dagger-axes, join your shields, raise your lances, I will make a declaration. — 5. The king said: The ancients had a saying: The hen should not call the morning. If the hen calls the morning, (there is the ransacking of the house =) the house should be ransacked for baleful influences. — 6. Now Shou, the king of Shang, (uses =) follows only the words of a woman. He destroys and rejects his set-forth sacrifices, and does not (respond =) show any gratitude. He destroys and rejects his (left over =) still living uncles and uterine brothers and does not (cause them to advance =) promote them. Thus, the great criminals and runaways of the four quarters, them he honours, them he respects, them he trusts and them he employs, them he has for dignitaries, ministers and officers, and causes them to oppress the people and so commit villainy and treachery in the city of Shang. — 7. Now I, Fa, (furnish and practise =) execute Heaven's punishment. In today's affair, do not exceed 6 steps, 7 steps, then stop and adjust (your ranks). (Masters =) officers, exert yourselves! — 8. Do not exceed 4 attacks, 5 attacks, 6 attacks, 7 attacks, then stop and adjust (your ranks). Exert yourselves, officers! — 9. May you be martial! Be like tigers, like leopards, like black bears, like brown-and-white bears (or, with the Kin-wen version: be like tigers, like brown-and-white bears, like wolves, like c h 'i -beasts). In the suburbs of Shang, do not stop and crush those who flee, so that they (can) do service in the Western land. Exert yourselves, officers! — 10. In so far as you do not exert yourselves, on your (bodies =) persons there will be (applied) capital punishment.

**Hung fan.**

1. In the 13th year, the king consulted the prince of Ki. — 2. The king spoke and said: Oh, prince of Ki! Heaven shelters and raises the people here below, it aids and harmonizes its (dwelling =) living conditions; I do not know whereby its constant norms get their proper order. — 3. The prince of Ki spoke and said: I have heard that in ancient times Kun obstructed the inundating waters, and

(disorderly ranged =) brought disorder into the arrangement of the five elements. The Sovereign (God) then was roused and angry, and did not give him the Great Plan in nine (categories =) sections, (that was) whereby the constant norms were destroyed. As to Kun, he was killed and died, and Yü then succeeded him and rose. Heaven then gave Yü the Great Plan in nine sections, whereby the constant norms get their proper order. — 4. The first is called the five elements; the second is called to bring forth and use the five conducts; the third is called energetically to use the eight rules of government; the fourth is called to harmonize and use the five regulators; the fifth is called to establish and use the august (middle way =) correctness; the sixth is called to regulate and use the three virtues; the seventh is called elucidatingly to use the determinators of doubt (sc. the oracles); the eighth is called thoughtfully to use all the verifications (natural omina); the ninth is called enjoyingly to use the five felicities and (fearingly to use =) with due awe to accept the six extremities (i. e. calamities). — 5. First, the five elements: the first is called water, the second fire, the third wood, the fourth metal, the fifth earth. Water is said to soak and descend; fire is said to blaze and ascend; wood is said to curve or be straight; metal is said to obey and change; earth is said to take seeds and give crops. That which soaks and descends produces saltiness; that which blazes and ascends produces bitterness; that which curves or is straight produces sourness; that which obeys and changes produces acridity; that which takes seeds and gives crops produces sweetness. — 6. Second: the five conducts. The first is called the (outer) appearance; the second speech; the third seeing; the fourth hearing; the fifth thinking. The appearance is said to be respectful, the speech (compliant =) reasonable, the seeing clear, the hearing perceptive, the thinking (large-minded =) liberal. Being respectful produces gravity; being reasonable produces orderliness; being clear-sighted produces wisdom; being perceptive in hearing produces deliberation; being liberal-minded produces sagacity. — 7. Third: the eight rules of government. The first is called (the rule pertaining to) food; the second, merchandise; the third, sacrifices; the fourth, the director of works; the fifth, the director of the multitude (sc. of instruction); the sixth the director of crimes; the seventh, (official) guests; the eighth, the army. — 8. Fourth: the five regulators. The first is called the year, the second the month, the third the day, the fourth the stars and constellations, the fifth the calendaric calculations. — 9. Fifth: the august correctness. When the august one firmly establishes the correctness he possesses, he (thereby) brings together those five felicities and largely bestows them upon his people; then the people becomes endowed with your correctness, and you (can) preserve the correctness. — 10. Among all the people, (the fact) that there will be no licentious factions, and nobody will take conspiratory action, is because the august one (makes =) creates correctness. — 11. Among all the people, when (some) have plans (principles), have activity, have self-control, you should bear them in mind; (those who) do not conform to the correctness, but do not fall into evil, the august one should receive them. You should make

汝雖錫之福。其作汝用咎。14.無偏無陂。遵王之義。無有作好。遵王之道。無有作惡。遵王之路。無偏無黨。王道蕩蕩。無黨無偏。王道(平平)采采。無反無側。王道正直。會其有極。歸其有極。15.曰皇極之敷言。是舞是訓。于帝其訓。16.凡厥庶民。極之敷言。是訓是行。以近天子之光。曰天子作民父母。以為天下王。17.六三德。一曰正直。二曰剛克。三曰柔克。平康正直。  
(彊弗友,em.)彊弗[弗],剛克。變友柔克。沈潛剛克。高明柔克。18.惟辟作福。惟辟作威。惟辟玉食。臣無有作福作威玉食。19.臣之有作福作威玉食。其害于而家。凶于而國。人用側頗僻。民用僭忒。20.七稽疑。擇建立卜筮人。乃命卜筮。21.曰雨曰霽(曰蒙曰驛)曰寢曰涕 [var.: 曰霽曰圉(列禦)], 曰克。22.曰貞曰悔。23.凡七。卜五。占用二。衍忒。24.立時人作卜筮。三人占則從二人之言。25.汝則有大疑。謀及乃心。謀及卿士。謀及庶人。謀及卜筮。汝則從。龜從筮從。卿士從。庶民從。是之謂大同。身其康彊。子孫其逢。吉。汝則從。龜從。筮從。卿士逆。庶民逆。吉。卿士從。龜從。筮逆。卿士逆。庶民逆。作內吉。作外凶。龜筮共違于人。用靜吉。用作凶。26.八庶徵。曰雨曰暘曰燠曰寒曰風曰時。五者來備。各以其敍。庶草蕃廡。27.一極備凶。一極無凶。28.曰休徵。曰肅。時雨若。曰乂。時暘若。曰哲。時燠若。曰謀。時寒若。曰聖。時風若。曰咎徵。曰狂。恆雨若。曰僭。恆暘若。(曰豫)曰舒。恆燠若。曰急。恆寒若。曰蒙。恆風若。29.曰王省惟歲。卿士惟月。師尹惟日。30.歲月日時無易。百穀用成。乂用明。後民用章。家用平康。31.日月歲時既易。百穀用不成。乂用昏不明。後民用微。家用不寧。32.庶民惟星。星有好風。星有好雨。日月之行。則有冬有夏。月之從星。則以風雨。33.九五福。一曰壽。二曰富。三曰康寧。四曰攸[修]好德。五曰考終命。34.六極。一曰凶短折。二曰疾。三曰憂。四曰貧。五曰惡。六曰弱。

金縢。1.既克商二年。王有疾。弗豫。2.二公曰。我其為王繆卜。3.周公曰。未可以戚我先王。4.公乃自以為功[貢]。為三壇同殫。為壇于南方北面。周公立焉。植璧秉珪。乃告太王王季文王。5.史乃冊祝曰。惟爾元孫某遭厲虐疾。若爾三王是[寔]有丕子之責于天。以旦代某之身。6.予

serene your mien and say: »What I love is virtue», and then you should give them happiness (i. e. emoluments). Those men thus will think of the august one's correctness. — 12. Do not oppress those who are helpless and alone, while fearing those who are high and illustrious. — 13. When there are men who have ability and activity, cause them to bring forth their (actions) achievements, and the state will be prosperous. All the principal men, when they have been remunerated, then they will be good. If you cannot cause them to have friendliness towards your house, those men then will commit offences. As to those who are not good, even though you give them happiness (i. e. emoluments), in acting for you they will use wickedness. — 14. Have nothing onesided, nothing oblique, and follow the king's righteousness; have no predilections and follow the king's way; have no aversions and follow the king's road; have nothing onesided, nothing partial, the king's way is smooth and easy; have nothing partial, nothing onesided, the king's way is well-arranged; have nothing deflected, nothing perverse, the king's way is straight. If you bring together those who have correctness, then they will turn to the one who has correctness (sc. yourself). — 15. Thus: As to the king, the propagation and teaching of correctness, this he makes his norm, this he complies with, and with the Sovereign (God) he will then comply. — 16. As to all the people, the propagation and teaching of correctness, this they comply with, this they carry into practice, and thereby they will come near to the glory of the Son of Heaven. Thus: the Son of Heaven is the father and mother of the people, and thereby is king over the whole world. — 17. Sixth: the three virtues (modes of action). The first is called straightness (the strict mean); the second is called hardness predominating; the third is called softness predominating. For (treating) the peaceful ones, there is the straightness (the strict mean); for (treating) the violent and offensive ones, there is the hardness predominating; for (treating) the concordant and friendly ones there is the softness predominating. For (treating) those who are plunged and soaked (sc. in wine and pleasures) there is the hardness predominating, for (treating) those who are high-standing and (bright =) enlightened there is the softness predominating. — 18. It is the ruler who (makes happiness =) dispenses favours, it is the ruler who (makes terror =) dispenses punishments, it is the ruler who eats the precious food (sc. the ritual food which inaugurates the seasons). As to the subjects, it should never occur that they dispense favours, dispense punishments and eat the precious food. — 19. If it occurs that subjects dispense favours, dispense punishments and eat the precious food, it is injurious to your house and baleful to your state. The men (sc. in office) thereby become partial and perverse, the people become (transgressing =) offensive and (erring =) wicked. — 20. Seventh: the elucidators of doubt. One selects and establishes diviners by tortoise and diviners by milfoil. And then one makes denominations (terms) for the tortoise and milfoil oracles. — 21. They are called (oracles about) rain, clearing up, fog, tears (i. e. calamity) and victory (triumph) [acc. to another text version: »... fog, destruction and victory»]; — 22. (and they are called) the

lower trigram and the upper trigram. — 23. In all there are 7. The tortoise oracles are 5 (sc. about »rain« etc. as above), the applications of the milfoil oracles are 2 (sc. the lower and upper trigrams), with extensive (changes =) combinations (of them). — 24. One appoints those men to perform the tortoise oracles and the milfoil oracles. When three men prognosticate, one follows the pronouncements of two men. — 25. Now you have a great doubt; then consult with your heart, consult with the dignitaries and noblemen, consult with the common people, consult with the tortoise and milfoil oracles. Now you consent (sc. to a certain action), the tortoise consents, the milfoil consents, the dignitaries and noblemen consent, the common people consent; that is called the great concord; your person will be prosperous and strong, your sons and grandsons will be great; it is auspicious. Now you consent, the tortoise consents, the milfoil consents, but the dignitaries and noblemen oppose, the common people oppose; it is (still) auspicious. The dignitaries and noblemen consent, the tortoise consents, the milfoil consents, but you oppose and the common people oppose; it is (still) auspicious. The common people consent, the tortoise consents, the milfoil consents, but you oppose and the dignitaries and noblemen oppose; it is (still) auspicious. Now you consent, the tortoise consents, but the milfoil opposes, the dignitaries and noblemen oppose, the common people oppose: in internal affairs it is auspicious, in external affairs (sc. outside the state) it is baleful. When tortoise and milfoil both go counter to men, to remain still is auspicious, to act is baleful. — 26. Eighth: the various verifications. They are called rain, sunshine, heat, cold, wind and their seasonableness; when the five come in a complete way, and each in its order, all the plants are rich and luxuriant. — 27. If one (of them) is complete to the extreme, it is baleful; if one is lacking to the extreme, it is baleful. — 28. (Some) are called the lucky verifications. Gravity — seasonable rain responds to it; orderliness — seasonable sunshine responds to it; wisdom — seasonable heat responds to it; deliberation — seasonable cold responds to it; sageness — seasonable wind responds to it. (Some) are called unlucky verifications. Wildness — constant rain responds to it; incorrectness — constant sunshine responds to it; indolence — constant heat responds to it; rashness — constant cold responds to it; (blindness =) stupidity — constant wind responds to it. — 29. He said: What the king scrutinizes is the year (sc. as to its natural phenomena), the dignitaries and noblemen the months, the many lower officials the days (sc. for verifications of their government). — 30. When in years, months and days the seasonableness has no (changes =) failings, the (hundred =) many cereals ripen, the administration is enlightened, talented men of the people are distinguished, the house is peaceful and at ease. — 31. When in days, months and years the seasonableness has (changes =) failings, the many cereals do not ripen, the administration is (dark =) stupid and unenlightened, talented men of the people are (small =) in petty positions, the house is not at peace. — 32. What the common people (scrutinize) is the stars. There are stars which favour wind, there are stars which favour rain. (Owing to) the course of

仁(若考能)若巧能。多材多藝。能事鬼神。乃元孫不若旦多材多藝。不能事鬼神。7.乃命于帝庭。敷佑<sub>有</sub>四方。用能定爾子孫于下地。四方之民罔不祗畏。嗚呼。無墜天之降寶命。我先王亦永有依歸。8.今我卽命于元龜。爾之許我。我其以璧與珪歸俟爾命。爾不許我。我乃屏璧與珪。9.乃卜三龜。一習吉。啓籥見書。乃并是吉。10.公曰。體王其罔害。予小子新命于三王。惟永終是圖。茲攸俟能念。予一人。11.公歸。乃納冊于金縢之匱中。王翼日乃瘳。12.武王既喪。管叔及其羣弟乃流言于國曰。公將不利于孺子。13.周公乃告二公曰。我之弗辟。我無以告我先王。14.周公居東二年。則罪人斯得。15.于後公乃為詩以貽王。名之曰鵲鵙。王亦未敢誚公。16.秋大熟未穫。天大(雷電)雷雨。以風。禾盡偃。大木斯拔。邦人大恐。王與大夫盡弁以答金縢之書。乃得周公所自以為功<sub>頃</sub>。代武王之說。17.二公及王乃問諸史與百執事。對曰。信噫。公命我勿敢言。18.王執書以泣曰。其勿繆卜。昔公勤勞王家。惟予沖人弗及知。今天動威。以彰周公之德。惟朕小子其(新逆)親迎。我國家禮亦宜之。19.王出郊。天乃雨。反風。禾則盡起。二公命邦人。凡大木所偃盡起而築之。歲則大熟。

大誥。1.王若曰。啟大誥爾。大誥獻爾。多邦。越爾御事。弗弔天(降割)降害于我家。不少延。洪惟我幼沖人嗣。無疆大歷服。弗造哲。迪民康矧。曰其有能格知天命。2.已。予惟小子。若涉淵水。予惟往求朕攸濟。敷貢敷前人受命。茲不忘大功。予不敢閉于天降威。3.用寧王遺我大寶龜。紹天明。卽命曰。有大艱于西土。西土人亦不靜。越茲蠱。4.殷小腆<sub>[典]</sub>誕。敢紀其敍。天降威知我國有疵。民不康。曰。于復。反鄙我周邦。5.今蠱<sub>(今翼, cm.)</sub>今翊。日民獻有十夫。予翼以于。敷寧武圖功。我有大事休。朕卜并吉。6.肆予告我友邦君。越尹氏庶士御事。曰。予得吉卜。予惟以爾庶邦于伐殷。邇播臣。7.爾庶邦君。越庶士御事。罔不反曰。艱大。民不靜。亦惟在王宮。邦君室。越于小子考翼不可征。王害不違卜。8.肆予沖人。永思艱曰。嗚呼。允蠱。鯀寡哀哉。予造天役。遺大艱于朕身。越于沖人。不仰自恤。義爾邦君。越爾多士尹氏御事。綏予曰。無豈于恤。不可不成。乃寧考圖功。9.已。予惟小子(不敢替)。不敢僭上帝命。天休于寧王與我。

sun and moon there is winter and summer. According as the moons follow the (various) stars, there is wind and rain (sc. the people can judge the indications in the sky and so participate in the »verifications«). — 33. Ninth: the 5 felicities. The first is called long life, the second riches, the third ease and tranquillity, the fourth the cultivation of a fine virtue, the fifth the achievement of a (naturally) ended life. — 34. The six extremities (i. e. calamities): the first is called premature death, the second sickness, the third sorrow, the fourth poverty, the fifth ugliness, the sixth weakness.

**Kin t'eng.**

1. After the victory over the Shang, in the second year, the king fell ill and was not happy. 2. The two princes (sc. Shao Kung and T'ai Kung) said: We shall for the king solemnly take tortoise oracle. — 3. Chou Kung said: One cannot distress our former kings. — 4. The prince then proffered himself. He made three altars on the same arena. He made an altar on the southern side, facing north. Chou Kung took his place there. He held upright a p i jade disc and he grasped a k u e i tessera. And so he addressed T'ai Wang, Wang Ki and Wen Wang. — 5. The scribe then put on tablets the prayer, saying: Your chief descendant So-and-so has met with an epidemic sickness and is violently ill. If you three kings really (have the debt of a great son towards Heaven =) owe a great son to Heaven (i. e. if he must die), then substitute me, Tan, for So-and-so's person. — 6. I am good and compliant, clever and capable, I have much talent and much skill, I can serve the Spirits. Your principal descendant does not, like me, Tan, have much talent and much skill, he cannot serve the Spirits. — 7. But he has been appointed in the Sovereign's hall, extensively (i. e. everywhere) to possess the (regions of) the four quarters and thereby be able firmly to establish your descendants on the earth here below. Of the people of the four quarters, there are none who do not revere and fear him. Oh, do not let fall the precious mandate sent down by Heaven, then our former kings will also forever have a reliance and resort (i. e. sacrifices to sustain them). — 8. Now I will announce the inquiry to the great tortoise. If you grant me my wish (sc. that the king may recover), I will with the p i jade disc and the k u e i tessera return and wait for your order (sc. to be called away by death). If you do not grant me my wish, I will shut up the jade disc and the tessera (i. e. no more function as officiant in sacrifice). — 9. Then he divined with the three tortoises, (with one and the same repetition =) all in the same way were auspicious. He opened the bamboo tubes (sc. receptacles for writing slips) and looked at the documents. They likewise (made this auspicious =) indicated that this was auspicious. — 10. The prince said (to the king): According to the (configurations =) content (of the oracles), the king will suffer no harm. (The king said:) I, the little child, anew have obtained an appointment from the three kings (i. e. a new spell of life); for a distant end I shall plan; what I now expect is that they will (think of =) care about me, the One Man. — 11. When the prince had

returned, he placed the tablets in the metal-bound coffer. The next day the king got better. — 12. When Wu Wang had died, Kuan Shu and all his younger brothers spread talk in the state, saying: The prince will do no good to the infant. Chou Kung then said to the two princes (sc. T'ai Kung and Shao Kung): If I do not correct (them), I shall have nothing to answer our former kings. — 14. Chou Kung dwelt in the East for two years, and then the criminal men (sc. the slanderers) were apprehended. — 15. Afterwards, the prince made an ode and presented it to the king, it was called Ch'i-yao. The king still did not dare to blame the prince. — 16. In the autumn, when there was great ripeness, when they had not yet reaped, Heaven made great thunder and rain with wind, all the grain laid itself down, great trees then were uprooted. The people of the land greatly feared. The king and dignitaries all capped themselves in order to open the books of the metal-bound coffer. And then they got hold of the words by which Chou Kung proffered himself to take the place of Wu Wang. — 17. The two princes and the king then asked about it with the scribe and all the functionaries. They answered and said: It is true, alas! But the prince ordered that we should not dare to speak (about it). — 18. The king held the document and wept, and said: Let us not solemnly take tortoise oracle (sc. it is not needed). Formerly the prince toiled for the Royal house, but I, young man, have not (reached to know it =) had the means of knowing it. Now Heaven has set in motion its terror in order to signalize Chou Kung's virtue. I, the little child, will in person go and meet him, the rites of our Royal house also justify this. — 19. When the king came out to the suburbs (sc. on his way to meet Chou Kung), Heaven rained and turned the wind and the grain all rose up. The two princes ordered the people of the state, in regard to all great trees which had been overthrown, to raise them all and earth them up. The year then was greatly (ripe =) fruitful.

#### Ta kao.

1. The king spoke thus: I will greatly tell and discourse to you, (princes of) the numerous states, and to you, managers of affairs. The merciless Heaven sends down injury on our house, without the slightest delay. I greatly think of how I, little young man, have succeeded to boundless and very numerous tasks. (But) I am not perfected and wise, leading the people to tranquillity; how much the less then should I be able to comprehend and know the commands of Heaven? — 2. Oh, I am a little child; (I am) as if I were to cross a deep water, I go and seek where I can cross. I shall extend the great thing (sc. the realm) and extend the mandate received by the former men (i. e. princes). Now, I do not forget the great (work =) task. I dare not raise obstacles to Heaven's sending down its (severity =) inflictions. — 3. I have used the precious tortoise handed down to me by the serene (dead) kings, to transmit (to me) Heaven's bright (will). I announced the inquiry, saying: »There are great difficulties in the Western lands (sc. because of the sedition in the East), and the people of the Western lands are likewise not peaceful». Now

they are crawling about. — 4. The small ruler of Yin grandly presumes to reconnect his line of succession. When Heaven (now) sends down its (severity =) inflictions (sc. the difficulties in the Chou house), he knows that our state has a flaw and that the people are not tranquil, and he says: »We shall come back», and he even despises our Chou state. — 5. Now they (sc. the enemies) crawl about, now they buzz about. But recently there have been ten eminent men among the people; I respectfully go with them, to achieve the serene (dead) Wu's planned work. We will have luck in the great affairs (sc. warfare); my tortoise oracles have all been auspicious. — 6. Thus I tell you, princes of my friendly states, you (local) officials, you various officers and managers of affairs. I have received auspicious tortoise oracles. I shall with you, various states, go and attack the fugitive and thrown-out (king's servant =) grandee of the Yin (house). — 7. You princes of the various states, and you officers and managers of affairs, there are none of you who do not retort and say that the difficulties' being great, and the people's not being tranquil (depend on =) have their source in the king's palace and the houses of princes of states. (You say that) they (the rebel princes) are my, the little child's, old coadjutors, they should not be attacked — why does the king not go counter to the oracle? — 8. Thus I, young man, forever think of the difficulties, saying: Oh, indeed they are crawling about, alas for the widowers and widows. In performing Heaven's service I have been remiss, and greatly thrown difficulties upon my person. But I, young man, do not pity myself. It is proper that you, princes of states, and you, numerous officers, local officials and managers of affairs, soothe me, saying: do not be (toiled =) distressed by the anxieties, you cannot but achieve your serene (dead) father's planned work. — 9. Yes, I, little child, dare not find fault with the command of God on High. Heaven gave its grace to the serene (dead) king, and raised our small state Chou. The serene king (used =) followed only the oracle, and (thus) was able tranquilly to receive this (command =) mandate. Now Heaven aids the people (sc. through giving it the said success); how much more must we follow the oracle! Oh, Heaven is bright and majestic, it (helps =) supports our very great foundation. — 10. The king said: You are veterans, you grandly can far discern, you know how the serene (dead) king toiled like this. In the (place =) situation when Heaven (toils us =) puts the toil on us to achieve the work, I dare not but go to the end with and accomplish the serene (dead) king's planned affairs. Now I greatly shall transform and guide the princes of my friendly states; and since Heaven is not to be relied on (sc. the mandate being uncertain), I shall thereafter perfect my people (sc. make it loyal). How should I not enlarge what was achieved of the former serene men's (i. e. dead kings') planned work! Heaven also is toiling our people, as if they had a sickness; how could I dare not enlarge the favour and help given by the former serene men? — 11. The king said: The other day, when I was on the point of going, I spoke of the difficulties and my daily ponderings. If a father starts to build a house, and when he has (effected =) settled the plan, his son is not willing to lay the foundations, how much the less will he be willing to

小邦周。寧王惟卜用。克綏受茲命。今天其相民矧亦惟卜用。嗚呼。天明畏。弼我不丕基。乃爾惟舊人。爾丕克遠省。爾知寧王若勤哉。天閼豈我。天惄我。成功所。予不敢不極卒寧王圖事。肆予大化誘我友邦。天棐忱。辭[嗣]其考我民。予曷其不于前寧人圖功攸終。天亦惟用勤愬我民。若有疾。予曷敢不于前寧人攸受(休畢)休弼。11. 王曰。若昔朕其逝。朕言艱日思。若考作室。既底法。厥子乃弗肯堂矧肯構。厥父荀。厥子乃弗肯播矧肯檮。厥考。其肯曰。予有後弗棄基。肆予曷敢不越印敷寧王大命。12. 若兄考乃有(友伐, em.)交伐。厥子。民養其勤[觀]弗救。13. 王曰。嗚呼。肆哉爾庶邦。越爾御事。奕邦由哲。亦惟十人。迪知上帝命。越天棐忱。爾時罔敢(易法)易定。矧今天降戾于周邦。大艱人誕鄰胥伐于厥室。爾亦不知天命不易。14. 予永念曰。天惟喪殷。若牆夫。于曷敢不終朕敵。天亦惟休于前寧人。15. 予曷其極卜。敢弗于從。率寧人(有指)。有旨疆土。矧今卜并吉。肆朕以爾東征。天命不僭。卜陳惟若茲。

康誥。1. 惟三月哉[載]生魄。周公初基。作新大邑于東國洛。四方民大和會。侯甸男邦采衛。百工播民和見士于周。周公咸勤。乃洪大誥治。2. 王若曰。孟侯。朕其弟。小子封。3. 惟乃丕顯考文王克明德。慎罰。4. 不敢侮鯀。庸庸祗祇威顯民。用肇造我區夏。越我一二邦以修我西土。時怙。冒[冒]聞于上帝。帝休。天乃大命文王殞戎殷。誕受厥命。越厥邦厥民。惟時敍。乃寡兄勣。肆汝小子封在茲東土。5. 王曰。嗚呼。封。汝念哉。今民將在祗遹乃文考。紹聞衣[依]德言。往敷求于殷先哲王。用保乂民。汝丕遠惟商耇成人。宅[度]心知訓。別求聞由古先哲王。用康保民。(弘于天:)弘[宏]覆于天。若德裕乃身。不廢在王命。6. 王曰。嗚呼。小子封。恫瘞乃身。敬哉天畏棐忱。民情大可見。小人難保住。盡乃心。無康(好逸豫)游逸。乃其乂民。我聞曰。怨不在大。亦不在小。惠不惠。懋懋。7. 已。汝惟小子。乃服惟弘。王應保殷民。亦惟助王宅天命。作新民。8. 王曰。嗚呼。封。敬明乃罰。人有小罪。非眚。乃惟終。自作不典。式爾。有厥罪小。乃不可不赦。乃有大罪。非終。乃惟眚災。適爾。既道極厥辜。時乃不可殺。9. 王曰。嗚呼。封。有敍時。乃大明服。惟民(其勅)其力。懋懋。若有疾。惟民其畢棄咎。若

build the upper part? If the father breaks the soil, and his son is not willing to sow, how much the less will he be willing to (reap =) bring it to a crop. Will then the father be willing to say: I have a descendant who does not discard the foundation (sc. created by me)? Then how could I dare not, when it has passed on to me, achieve the serene (dead) kings' great mandate? — 12. If among the (elder brothers and uncles =) seniors of the family there are those who jointly attack his son, should the feeders of the people (i. e. the princes) look on and not succour him? — 13. The king said: Oh, you are lax, indeed, you princes of the states and you managers of affairs! If the faulty states would follow the wise men, there are the ten men who obey and understand the commands of God on High. Heaven is not to be relied on (sc. the mandate is uncertain). Do not dare now to change what has been determined. Moreover, when Heaven now sends down guilt on the state of Chou (sc. the sedition), and great troublemakers and (extravagant =) disorderly neighbours attack us within the house, do you still not understand that Heaven's mandate is not easy (to keep)? — 14. I constantly think and say: Heaven in destroying Yin is like a (weeding) farmer; how would I dare not to finish (the weeding of) my acres? Heaven then also favours my deceased serene men (ancestors). — 15. How should I (first) explore to the utmost the oracle, and then dare not go and follow it? Following the serene (dead) men (i. e. their directions through the oracle), we shall have fine territories. Moreover, now the tortoise oracles have all been auspicious; therefore I shall grandly with you march to the East. Heaven's commands are not faulty; what the oracles (displayed =) indicated was like this.

#### K'ang kao.

1. In the 3rd month, on the 2nd (or: 3rd) day, Chou Kung first laid the foundations and made a new big city, at Lo in the eastern state. The people from the four quarters greatly concurred and convened. From the h o u, t i e n and n a n states, and from the t s'a i and w e i zones, the various officers and the scattered people willingly appeared for service in Chou. Chou Kung encouraged them all. And then he grandly announced the work to be done.<sup>1)</sup> — 2. The king spoke thus: Oh you leading prince, my younger brother, youngster Feng! — 3. Your greatly illustrious (dead) father Wen Wang was able to make bright the virtue and to be careful about the punishments. — 4. He dared not maltreat the widowers and widows. Very meritorious, very respectful, very majestic, he was illustrious among the people. And so he created our (divisional Hia =) section of the Hia (i. e. Chinese-speaking) countries. In our one or two states there was thereby created order, and our western territories relied on him; it was seen and heard by God on High, and God favoured him. Heaven then grandly ordered Wen Wang to kill the great Yin and grandly receive its mandate; its states and people became orderly. Your (single-standing =) sovereign elder brother has

<sup>1)</sup> These first lines should, according to Su Shi, belong to the chapter Lo kao, and have been erroneously placed at the head of the present chapter, with the contents of which they have no connection.

exerted himself, and thus you, youngster Feng, are here in the eastern territory. — 5. The king said: Oh, Feng, consider! Now the people will (dwell on =) be disposed respectfully to follow your father Wen, to continue what they have heard and to follow the virtuous words. Go and widely seek from the Yin's former wise kings, thereby protecting and governing the people. You should grandly and far think of Shang's old and accomplished men, (measure =) comprehend their (hearts =) minds and understand their instructions. You should, besides that, seek information from the ancient former wise kings (i. e. those anterior to Yin), and so tranquillize and protect the people. You will be grandly (covered =) protected by Heaven, a compliant virtue will be abundant in your person, you will not neglect to (dwell on =) be intent on the king's orders. — 6. The king said: Oh, youngster Feng, (pain your body =) exert yourself intensely and be careful. Heaven's majesty is not to be relied on (i. e. you cannot be sure of its favour). The people's feelings are greatly visible (i. e. beware of signs of unrest), the small people are difficult to keep in order. Go and (exhaust your heart =) do your very best. Do not repose and love idleness, and you will (well) govern the people. I have heard the saying: dissatisfaction does not depend on whether it (sc. the matter) is great or whether it is small. Make compliant those who are not compliant, make energetic those who are not energetic. — 7. Yes, you are a youngster, but you shall manage great things; when your king has received and taken in his care the Yin people, you shall help the king to (settle =) consolidate Heaven's mandate, and make of them a new people. — 8. The king said: Oh, Feng, be careful and enlightened in regard to your punishments. If somebody has made a small offence, if it is not a (misfortune =) offence by mishap but a (going to the end =) persistence and he himself has committed what is unlawful (pattern-wise =) according to his set purpose, even if his offence is small, then you cannot but kill him. If he has a great offence, if it is not a persistence but a (misfortune =) offence by mishap, done (happening-wise =) by chance, when you have (acc. to the norm =) justly probed to the end his guilt, then you cannot kill him. — 9. The king said: Oh, Feng, if you have order in that, you will make greatly illustrious your management. The people will with force strive to be concordant. As if there were a sickness (sc. to be got rid of), so the people will entirely throw away its faults; as if one protected an infant, so the people will become peaceful and well-governed. — 10. Is it not you, Feng, who punish people and kill people? — do not erroneously punish or kill people. (And again) is it not you, Feng, who cut the nose or the legs off people? — do not erroneously cut the nose or legs off people. — 11. The king said: In the external (court) affairs (i. e. judicial affairs) you should set forth those items of the law, and follow those laws of the Yin that have good principles. — 12. And again he said: Having (summed up =) tried a case of arrest, reflect upon it five or six days, nay even to a decade or a season, and then grandly decide the (summed up =) tried case of arrest. — 13. The king said: You should set forth those items of the law and take for punishments

保赤子。惟民其康乂。10. 非汝封刑人殺人。無或[惑]刑人殺人。非汝(封又曰)封, 割(刑人, em.)刑人。無或[惑]割(刑)刑人。11. 王曰。外事。汝陳時臬司。師茲殷罰有倫。12. 又曰。要囚。服念五六日。至于旬時。丕蔽要囚。13. 王曰。汝陳時臬事。罰蔽殷彝。用其義刑義殺。勿庸(以次汝)以卽汝封。乃汝盡遜。曰時殺。惟曰未有遜事。14. 已。汝惟小子。未其有若汝封之心。朕心。朕德。惟乃知。15. 凡民自得罪。寇攘姦宄。殺越人于貨。敵不畏死。罔弗憲。16. 王曰。封。元惡。大憲。矧惟不孝不友。子弗祇服厥父事。大傷厥考心。于父不能字厥子。乃疾厥子。于弟弗念。天顯。乃弗克恭厥兄。兄亦不念。鞠子哀。大不友于弟。惟弔茲。不于我政人得罪。天惟與我民彝大泯亂。曰。乃其速由文王作罰。刑茲無赦。17. 不率大要。矧惟外庶子訓人。惟厥正人越小臣諸節。乃別播敷造。民大譽弗念弗庸。瘼厥君。時乃引惡。惟朕憲。已。汝乃其速由茲義率殺。18. 亦惟君惟長。不能厥家人越厥小臣外正。惟威惟虐。大放王命。乃非德用乂。19. 汝亦罔不克敬典。乃由裕民。惟文王之敬忌。乃裕民曰。我惟有及。則予一人以懌。20. 王曰。封。爽惟民迪吉康。我時其惟殷先哲王德。用康乂民。作求矧今民罔迪不適。不迪則罔政在厥邦。21. 王曰。封。予惟不可不監。告汝德之說于罰之行。今惟民不靜。未戾厥心。迪屢未同。爽惟天其罰殛我。我其不怨。惟厥罪無在大。亦無在多。矧曰其尚顯聞于天。22. 王曰。嗚呼。封。敬哉。無作怨。勿用非謀非彝。蔽時忧。丕則敏德。用康乃心。顧乃德。遠乃猷裕[欲]。乃以民寧。不汝瑕[遐]殄。23. 王曰。嗚呼。肆汝小子封。惟命不于常。汝念哉。無我殄享。明乃服命。高乃聽。用康乂民。24. 王若曰。往哉封。勿替敬典聽朕告汝。乃以殷民世享。

酒誥。1. 王若曰。明大命于厥邦。2. 乃穆考文王肇國在西土。(厥誥, em.)乃誥。營庶邦庶土。越少正御事。朝夕曰。祀茲酒。惟天降命。肇我民惟元祀。3. 天降威。我民用大亂喪德。亦罔非酒惟行。越小大邦用喪。亦罔非酒惟享。4. 文王誥教小子有正有事無彝酒。越庶國飲惟祀。德將無醉。5. 惟曰。我民迪。小子惟土物愛。厥心臧。聽聽祖考之舞訓。越小大德。小子惟一。6. 姝土嗣爾股肱。純其藝黍稷。奔走事厥考厥長。肇牽車牛。遠

and verdicts the norms of the Yin. Use their just punishments and just killings. Do not use them so as to agree with you, Feng (i. e. your personal wishes). Then you will be entirely compliant, saying: »It is in order»; yet saying (sc. modestly): »There has not yet been (a sufficient) compliance». — 14. Yes, you are a youngster, but there is nobody who has a heart like you, Feng; and my heart and my virtue you know. — 15. All people who draw guilt upon themselves, being robbers and thieves and villains and traitors, who kill and (overthrow =) destroy and go for (goods =) spoil, and are forceful and do not fear death, there are none who do not detest them. — 16. The king said: Feng, when the primary evil-doers are (thus) greatly detested, how much the more then the unfilial and the unbrotherly? When a son does not respectfully manage his service to his father, he greatly hurts his father's heart. The one in a position of father cannot cherish his son but hates his son, the one in a position of younger brother does not think of Heaven's (clearness =) clear laws and so he cannot respect his elder brother. The elder brother likewise does not think of his tender younger brother's pitiableness and is greatly unfriendly towards his younger brother. If we are (pitying =) kind to these, and they are not considered as offenders by us, the rulers, the norms given by Heaven to our people will be greatly brought into disorder. I say, may you speedily follow Wen Wang's (rules of) punishments, and punish these without pardon. — 17. Those who are not compliant should be greatly subjected to rules. How much the more then the (external =) provincial tutors of the noble youths, the administrators and the petty officers of various ranks? When they (separately =) on their own account promulgate (penal) innovations, and do not think of or employ the greatly renowned ones among the people and distress their ruler, then they lead on to wickedness, and I detest them. Indeed, you should speedily, according to these norms of right, kill them all. — 18. And further, being ruler and president, if you do not treat your house-people well, and your petty officers and your provincial administrators, but are terrorizing and tyrannical and greatly set aside the Royal orders, then with immorality you govern. — 19. You should in everything respect the rules, and following them make the people opulent; thinking of Wen Wang's care and caution, you should make the people opulent, saying: May I only attain to him! Then I, the One Man, will be pleased. — 20. The king said: Feng, when it is at fault, the people should be guided to happiness and peace. I always think of the virtue of Yin's former wise kings, in order to tranquillize and govern the people, and I actively seek it (sc. their virtue). All the more since at present the people go wherever they are guided; if one does not guide them, there will be no government in their state. — 21. The king said: Feng, I cannot but scrutinize. I will tell you the principles of virtue in the application of the punishments. Now the people are not quiet, they have not yet settled their minds. I have guided them, but repeatedly they have not concurred (sc. with my directions). If there is any fault, Heaven will punish and kill me, and I shall not resent it. As to their crimes (my responsibility) does not depend on whether

they are great, it does not depend on whether they are many — how much the more, then, when upwards are manifest to and heard by Heaven! — 22. The king said: Oh, Feng, be careful. Do not create animosity, do not use bad counsels and bad norms. May your decisions (verdicts) be correct and reliable. Grandly take as pattern the active virtue (sc. of the ancients). Thereby make steady your heart, (look at =) take care of your virtue, make far-reaching your plans and intentions, then you will make the people tranquil, and I will not remove you or cut you off. — 23. The king said: Oh, now, you youngster Feng! The mandate is not (in a constant place =) invariable. You should think of it. May it not happen that I cut off your enjoyment (of the fief). Make illustrious the mandate you manage. Think highly of what you have (now) heard, and so tranquillize and govern the people. — 24. The king spoke thus: Go, you Feng, do not set aside your respectful care; constantly listen to my admonishments; then you will, with the people of Yin (as your subjects), from generation to generation enjoy (your fief).

**Tsui kao.**

1. The king spoke thus: Make manifest the great command in the state of Mei. — 2. When your dead father of the odd series, Wen Wang, created the state in the western lands, he told and cautioned all the (princes of) the states, the various officers, the assistants and the managers of affairs, and morning and evening he said: Sacrifice this wine; when Heaven sent down the mandate, what it created for people was the fundamental sacrifices (sc. to the founders; in which wine should be offered). — 3. When Heaven sent down its (severity =) inflictions, and our people thereby became greatly disorderly and lost their virtue, it was always the wine that (was the conduct =) characterized their conduct. When small and great states were thus ruined, it was likewise always the wine that was the fault. — 4. Wen Wang told and instructed you youngster (i. e. prince Feng, *alias* K'ang Shu) and the principal officers and (lower) managers of affairs not to have a constant (use of) wine. In the various states the drinking (should be) only at the sacrifices, and by virtue they should hold on to (not being drunk =) sobriety. — 5. I say: in our people's guidance, you youngster should (love =) economize the products of the soil (sc. not make too much wine of the grain); then their hearts will be good, and they will (hearingly =) willingly listen to the regular instructions of their grandfathers and fathers. In small and great virtues you, youngster, should be (one =) alike. — 6. (The people of) the land of Mei will (successively =) for generations be your legs and arms, and they should make (pure =) whole-hearted their cultivation of the millet and hasten about serving their old men and seniors. They should diligently lead their carts and oxen and far away manage the trading of commodities, and (thus) filially nourish their parents. Their parents will be happy. They should themselves wash (sc. the vessels) and make it ample (sc. the food) and bring forward the wine to be used. — 7. All you officers and leaders and all you noble chiefs, may you constantly listen to my instructions. That you can

服賈用。孝養厥父母。厥父母慶。自洗腆致用酒。7.庶士有正。越庶伯君子。其典聽朕教。爾大克羞耆惟君。爾乃飲食醉飽。丕惟曰。爾克永觀省。作稽中德。爾尚克羞饋祀。爾乃自介用逮。茲乃允惟王正事之臣。茲亦惟天若元德。永不忘在王家。8.王曰。封。我西土棐徂邦君。御事小子尚克用文王教。不腆于酒。故我至于今克受殷之命。9.王曰。封。我聞惟曰。在昔殷先哲主迪畏天顯小民。經德秉哲。自成湯咸至于帝乙成王畏。相惟御事。厥棐(有恭)有共[供]。不敢自暇自逸。矧曰其敢崇飲。10.越在外服。侯甸男衛邦伯。越在內服。百僚庶尹。惟服宗工。越百姓里居。罔敢湎于酒。不惟不敢。亦不暇。惟助成王德顯。越尹人祇辟。11.我聞亦惟曰。在今後嗣王酣身。厥命罔顯于民祇。保越怨不易。誕惟厥縱淫泆于非棄。用燕喪威儀。民罔不蠱傷心。惟荒腆于酒。不惟自息(乃逸, em.)厥逸。厥心疾狠。不克畏死。幸在商邑越殷國。滅無罹。弗惟德。馨香祀登聞于天。誕惟民怨。庶羣自酒。腥聞在上。故天降喪于殷。罔愛于殷。惟逸。天非虐。惟民自速幸。12.王曰。封。予不惟若茲多誥。古人有言曰。人無于水鑿。當于民鑿。今惟殷墮厥命。我其可不大鑿撫于時。13.予惟曰。汝勘茲殷獻臣。侯甸男衛。矧太史友。內史友越獻臣百宗工。矧惟爾事服休服采。矧惟(若疇坼父薄達農父, em.)薄達坼父若疇農父。若保玄父。定辟。矧汝剛制于酒。14.厥或誥曰。羣飲。汝勿佚。盡執拘以歸于周。予其殺。15.又惟殷之迪諸臣惟工。乃湎于酒。勿庸殺之。姑惟教之。16.有斯。明享。乃不用我教辭。惟我一人弗恤。弗蠲乃事。時同于殺。17.王曰。封。汝典聽朕茲。勿辭乃司。民湎于酒。

梓材。1.王曰。封。以厥庶民暨厥臣達大家。以厥臣達王。惟邦君。2.汝若恆越曰。我有師師司徒司馬司空尹旅曰。予罔厲殺人。亦厥君先敬勞。肆徂厥敬勞。肆往茲究殺人歷[櫨]人胥。肆亦見厥君事。戕敗人胥。3.王咎暨厥亂[罰司]為民。曰。無胥戕無胥虐。至于(敬)矜寡。至于(屬婦)嫋婦。合由以容。王其效邦君越御事。厥命曷以。引養引怙。自古王若茲。暨罔攸辟。4.惟曰。若稽田。既勤敷蓄。惟其陳修。為厥疆畎。若作室家。既勤垣墉。惟(其塗)其厥[度]。堅茨。若作梓材。既勤模斲。惟其塗丹臘。

grandly (present food to =) feast the aged, depends on the prince; then you can drink and eat to satiety. Greatly I say: if you can constantly observe and scrutinize (yourselves), and actively (investigate =) search for correct virtue, you may still be able to (bring forward =) present the food offerings (sc. to the Spirits); and then you can yourselves greatly take (recreations =) refreshments. Now you will truly be servants in the king's governing service. And now also Heaven will (comply with =) approve of your great virtue, and forever you will not be forgotten in the royal house. — 8. The king said: Feng! The (not gone =) still living princes of states and managers of affairs from our Western lands and you, youngster, have still been able to follow Wen Wang's instructions and are not excessive in wine. Therefore now that it has come to the present time, we have been able to take over Yin's mandate. — 9. The king said: Feng, I have heard it said that anciently Yin's former wise kings in their (walk =) conduct stood in awe of Heaven's (clearness =) clear laws and of the small people. They (walked in =) practised virtue and held on to wisdom. From Ch'eng T'ang all to Ti Yi, they achieved their royal majesty. Assisting were the managers of affairs; even those of them who did not have achievements dared not give themselves up to leisure and idleness. How much the less did they dare to drink heavily! In the exterior domains, the leaders of the h o u, t i e n, n a n and w e i states, and in the interior domain (i. e. royal domain proper), all the functionaries and the many governors, the next-following officials, the managers of affairs, the honoured officers and all those (members of) the many noble clans who resided in the villages dared not steep themselves in wine; not only did they not dare, they even had no leisure, for they helped to achieve the eminence of the royal virtue, to govern the people and to respect the laws. — 11. I have heard it said, likewise, that their successor in our time made himself drunk. In his commands he had no (clearness =) clear understanding of the respect due to the people; he maintained and spread far and wide resentment and did not change. Great was his licentiousness and dissoluteness and indulgence in irregular (practices), by his pleasures he ruined his dignity. Among the people there were none who did not suffer and were not pained in their hearts. He was greatly excessive in wine. He did not think of ceasing his licentiousness. His heart was malign, and he was unable to fear death. Crimes existed in the city of Shang and in the states of Yin, but for the extinction he had no anxiety. It was not (so) that fragrant offerings (made with) virtue ascended and were perceived by Heaven; greatly the people were resentful and the crowds intoxicated themselves, and the rank smell was perceived on high. Therefore, when Heaven sent down destruction on Yin and had no (love =) mercy for Yin, it was due to (his) excesses. Heaven is not tyrannical, people themselves draw guilt upon themselves. — 12. The king said: Feng! I do not simply like this make a long announcement. The ancients had a saying: men should not (examine =) mirror themselves in water; they should mirror themselves in the people. Now, when Yin has ruined its mandate, can I neglect to greatly examine and follow this? — 13. I tell you, you should earnestly caution the

wise servants of Yin in the h o u, t i e n, n a n and w e i zones, and still more your honoured assistant the grand scribe and your honoured assistant the scribe of the interior and your wise servants and many honoured officers; and still more your (direct) servants, those who serve you in your leisure and those who serve you in your activities; and still more the k ' i f u (minister of war) who suppresses the transgressors, the n u n g - f u (master of the multitudes, the farmers) who (conforms himself to =) carefully attends to the territories, and the h u n g f u (master of works) who carefully attends to the strongholds (sc. walled cities), (these three) who establish the laws; and still more should you firmly restrict yourself in regard to wine. — 14. If somebody reports saying: a company is drinking, do not let them escape, seize them all and send them to Chou, and I will kill them. — 15. And further, as to Yin's guided servants, those who are officials, who steep themselves in wine, you need not kill them. For a time instruct them. — 16. If you (possess this =) persist in this, you shall brightly enjoy (your fief). But if you do not (use =) follow my instructions, then I, the One Man, shall have no pity. If you are not pure in your service, then you shall participate in the death penalty. — 17. The king said: Feng! You should constantly listen to my admonitions. If you do not properly arrange your officers, the people will steep itself in wine.

Ts i t s ' a i.

1. The king said: Feng! Through his multitude and his servants to (reach to =) establish good relations with the grandes; and through his servants to establish good relations with the king — that is the (task of a) ruler of a feudal state. — 2. If you constantly proclaim and say: »I have, (host-like =) in a great array, the master of the multitudes, the master of the horse, the master of works, governors and various officials; I declare that I do not tyrannically kill people»; then the prince (goes before =) sets an example to care about and encourage (the people), and then they (sc. the officers) will go to care for and encourage (the people), then the former traitors and villains and killers and (finger-squeezing men =) torturers will be pardoned, and then, when they (sc. the officers) observe their prince's management (sc. of the punishments), the malefactors and destroyers will be pardoned. — 3. The king instructs his inspectors (i. e. feudal lords) about their governing and managing the people, saying: Do not injure each other, do not oppress each other; (reach to =) attend even to widowers and widows, attend even to pregnant women. Concordantly and compliantly (embrace =) cherish them. When the king (stimulates =) gives injunctions to the princes of the states and the managers of affairs, what do his orders purport? He leads them on to nourish and to tranquillize (the people). From of old the king has done like this, and the inspectors (thus) (have nowhere where to punish =) have no use for punishments. — 4. (The king) said: It is as when one (calculates =) disposes his fields. When he has toiled in widely breaking the soil, he should arrange and put it in order and

5. 今王惟曰。先王既勤用明德。懷為夾[挾]。庶邦享。作兄弟方來。亦既用明德。后式典集。庶邦丕享。6. 皇天既付中國民越厥疆土于先王。7. 肆王惟德用。和懌先後迷民。用懌先王受命。8. 已。若茲暨惟曰。欲至于萬年。惟王子子孫孫永保民。

召誥。1. 惟二月既望越六日乙未。王朝步自周。則至于豐。2. 惟太保先周公相宅。越若來三月。惟丙午朏。越三日戊申太保朝至于洛卜宅。厥既得卜。則經營。3. 越三日庚戌太保乃以庶殷攻位于洛汭。越五日甲寅位成。若翼日乙卯周公朝至于洛。則達觀于新邑營。5. 越三日丁巳用牲于郊。牛二。越翼日戊午乃社于新邑。牛一羊一豕一。6. 越七日甲子周公乃朝用書命庶殷侯甸男邦伯。7. 厥既命殷庶。庶殷丕作。8. 太保乃以庶邦冢君出取幣。乃復入錫周公。曰。拜手稽首旅王若公。誥告庶殷(越自乃)越乃御事。9. 呴呼。皇天上帝改厥元子。茲大國殷之命。惟王受命。無疆惟休。亦無疆惟恤。嗚呼。曷其奈何弗敬。10. 天既既終大邦殷之命。茲殷多先哲王在天。越厥後王後民茲服厥命。厥終智藏[臧]。穠在。夫知[智]保抱。攜持厥婦子。以哀籲天。徂厥亡出執。嗚呼。天亦哀于四方民。其眷命用憲。王其疾敬德。11. 相古先民有夏。天迪從子[字]保。面[勔]稽天若。今時既墜厥命。今相有殷。天迪格保。面[勔]稽天若。今時既墜厥命。12. 今沖子嗣。則無遺壽。苟曰其稽我古人之德。矧曰其有能稽謀自天。13. 呴呼。有王雖小。元子哉。其丕能誠于小民。今休。王不敢後。用顧畏于(民畧)民望。14. 王來紹上帝。自服于土中。旦曰。其作大邑。其自時配皇天。忘祀于上下。其自時中乂。王厥有成命。治民今休。15. 王先服殷御事。比介于我有周御事。節性。惟日其邁。16. 王敬作所。不可不敬德。17. 我不可不監于有夏。亦不可不監于有殷。我不敢知曰。有夏服天命惟有歷年。我不敢知曰。不其延。惟不敬厥德。乃早墜厥命。我不敢知曰。有殷受天命惟有歷年。我不敢知曰。不其延。惟不敬厥德。乃早墜厥命。18. 今王嗣受厥命。我亦惟茲二國命。嗣若功。(王乃初服)今王初服厥命。19. 呴呼。若生子。罔不在厥初生。自貽哲命。今天其命哲命吉凶。命歷年。知今我初服宅新邑。20. 肆惟王其疾敬德。王其德之用祈。

make his boundaries and watering channels. It is as when one works on a house. When he has toiled (in making) the walls, he should take measures for plastering and thatching. It is as when one works on catalpa wood; when he has toiled in trimming and carving it, he should take measures for making it red or green. — 5. (Feng answered:) Now the king should say: The former kings diligently used their bright virtue, and their cherishing was universal; all the states brought offerings, as brothers they came from all quarters, and they likewise used their bright virtue. If the sovereign (now) using the regular norms unites them, all the states will grandly bring offerings. — 6. Great Heaven has delivered the people of the Central kingdom and its territory to the former kings. — 7. Now may the king by means of virtue harmonize and gladden and (be before and after =) take care of the foolish people, and thus gladden the former kings who received the mandate. — 8. Yes, being an inspector like this, I say: I wish that unto a myriad years the king's sons and grandsons may forever (guard =) have charge of the people!

**Shao kao.**

1. In the 2nd month, 3rd quarter, 6th day *y i-w e i*, the king in the morning walked from Chou, and so he arrived in Feng. — 2. The grand guardian preceeded Chou Kung to inspect the site. When it came to the 3rd month, the day *p i n g-w u* was the (new light of the moon =) 3rd day of the month; on the 3rd day (i. e. two days later), *m o u-s h e n*, the grand guardian in the morning arrived at Lo and took tortoise oracle about the site. When he had obtained the oracle, he planned and laid out (the city). — 3. On the 3rd day (two days later), *k e n g-s ü*, the grand guardian with all the Yin people started work on the (public) emplacements at the nook of the Lo (river); and on the 5th day (four days later), *k i a y i n*, the emplacements were (achieved =) determined. — 4. The next day, *y i-m a o*, Chou Kung in the morning arrived at Lo and all over he inspected the disposal of the new city. — 5. On the 3rd day (two days later), *t i n g-s i*, he sacrificed victims on the suburban altar, namely two oxen, and on the next day, *m o u-w u*, he sacrificed to the God of the Soil in the new city, namely one ox, one sheep, one pig. — 6. On the 7th day (6 days later), *k i a t s i*, Chou Kung in the morning by written documents gave charges (sc. about the labour service to be rendered) to all the rulers of states of the *h o u*, *t i e n* and *n a n* zones in the Yin (realm). — 7. When orders had been given to the Yin multitude, all the Yin grandly started work. — 8. The grand guardian then together with all the ruling princes of states went out (sc. from the assembly) and took gifts, and entered again and gave them to Chou Kung. He (sc. Chou Kung) said: I salute and bow down the head and I (set forth =) extol the king and your Grace. I make an announcement to (you) all Yin and managers of affairs. — 9. Oh, august Heaven, God on High, has changed his principal son (i. e. chosen the »Son of Heaven« from another house), and this great state Yin's mandate. Now that the king has received the mandate, unbounded is the grace, but also unbounded is the solicitude. Oh, how can he be

but careful! — 10. Heaven has removed and made an end to the great state Yin's mandate. Now there are many former wise kings of Yin in Heaven. The following kings and following people (i. e. officers) here (still) managed their mandate. (But) in the end (sc. under the last king), the wise and good men (miserably existed =) lived in misery. These wise men, wrapping and carrying, leading and supporting the wives and children, and wailing and calling to Heaven, went to (where there was no coming out and seizing them =) where nobody could come out and seize them. Oh, Heaven also had pity on the people of the four quarters, and looking to it with affection and giving its mandate, it employed the zealous ones (sc. the Chou). May the king (now) urgently pay careful attention to his virtue. — 11. Look at the ancient predecessors, the lords of Hia; Heaven (followed =) indulged them and cherished and protected them. They strove to (scrutinize =) comprehend the obedience towards Heaven; but in these times they have (dropped =) lost their mandate. Now look at the lords of Yin; Heaven (followed =) indulged them and raised and protected them; they strove to comprehend the obedience towards Heaven, but in these times they have lost their mandate. — 12. Now a young son is the successor; may he not neglect the aged elders. Then he will (scrutinize =) comprehend our ancient men's virtue, nay still more, it will occur that he is able to comprehend and (plan to =) endeavour to follow Heaven. — 13. Oh, though the present king is small, he is the principal son. May he grandly be able to be concordant with the people. As to the present (heavenly) grace, the king should not dare to be dilatory but make use of the favour; and he should be apprehensive of the people's talk. — 14. May the king come and (continue =) take over the work of God on High, and himself manage (the government) in the centre of the land. I, Tan, say: having made the great city, he shall (governing) from there be a counterpart to august Heaven. He shall carefully sacrifice to the upper and lower (Spirits), and from there centrally govern. The king, in case of his fulfilling his mandate, in governing the people will now have the (heavenly) grace. — 15. May the king first submit Yin's managers of affairs, and associate them with our Chou's managers of affairs, discipline their (nature =) minds, and they will progress daily. — 16. May the king with reverent attention (make a placing =) give them their proper positions; he should not fail reverently to attend to virtue. — 17. We should not fail to mirror ourselves in the lords of Hia; we likewise should not fail to mirror ourselves in the lords of Yin. We do not presume to know and say: the lords of Hia undertook Heaven's mandate so as to have it for so-and-so many years; we do not presume to know and say: it could not be prolonged. It was that they did not reverently attend to their virtue, and so they prematurely renounced their mandate. We do not presume to know and say: the lords of Yin received Heaven's mandate so as to have it for so-and-so many years; we do not know and say: it could not be prolonged. It was that they did not reverently attend to their virtue, and so they prematurely (let fall =) threw away their mandate. — 18. Now the king has succeeded to and

天永命。21.其惟王勿以小民淫用非彝。亦敢珍戮用乂民若有功。22.其惟王位在德元。小民乃惟利用于天下。越王顯。23.上下勤恤其曰。我受天命。丕若有夏歷年。式勿替有殷歷年。欲王以小民受天永命。24.拜手稽首曰。予小臣敢以王之饑民百君子越友民保受王威命明德。王末有成命。王亦顯。我非敢勤。惟恭奉幣。用供王能祈天永命。

洛誥。1.周公拜手稽首曰。朕復子明辟。2.王如弗敢及天基命定命。予乃胤保大相東土。其基作民明辟。3.予惟乙卯朝至于洛師。我卜河朔黎水。我乃卜澗水東。瀍水西。惟洛食[飭]。我又卜瀍水東。亦惟洛食[飭]。併來以圖及獻卜。4.王拜手稽首曰。公不敢不敬天之休。來相宅。其作周匹休。公既定宅。併來。來視予卜休恆吉。我二人共貞。公其以予萬億。年敬天之休。拜手稽首誨言。5.周公曰。王肇稱殷禮祀于新邑。咸秩無文[素]。6.予齊百工。併從王于周。予惟曰。庶有事。7.今王卽命曰。記功宗以功作元祀。惟命曰。汝受命篤弼。丕視功載。8.乃汝其悉自教工。9.孺子其朋。孺子其朋其往。無若火。始燄燄。厥攸灼。敍弗其絕。10.厥若彝及撫事如予。惟以在周工往新邑。併嚮卽有僚。明作有功。惇大成裕。汝永有辭。11.公曰。已。汝惟沖子。惟終。12.汝其敬識百辟。享亦識其有不享。享多儀。儀不及物。惟曰不享。惟不役志于享。凡民惟曰不享。惟事其奕侮。13.乃惟孺子領。朕不暇聽朕教汝于業民彝。汝乃是不叢。乃時惟不永哉。篤敍乃正父。罔不若予。不敢廢乃命。汝往敬哉。茲予其明農哉。彼裕我民。無遠用戾。14.王若曰。公明保予沖子。公稱丕顯德。以予小子揚(文武烈)文武德烈。(奉答)奉對。天命和恆(四方民)萬邦四方民。居師。15.惇宗將禮稱秩元祀。咸秩無文[素]。16.惟公德明光于上下。勤施于四方。旁作穆穆(迓衡)御衡。不迷文武勤教。予沖子夙夜監祀。17.王曰。公功棐迪篤。罔不若時。18.王曰。公。予小子其退。卽辟于周。令公後。19.四方迪亂。未定于宗禮。亦未克枚公功。20.迪將其後監我士師工。誕保文武。受民亂[嗣司]為四輔。21.王曰。公定予往已。公功肅將祇歡公(無困哉我惟)無困我哉。惟無叢其康事。公勿替刑。四方其世享。22.周公拜手稽首曰。王命予來。承保乃文祖受命民。越乃光烈考武王(弘朕)弘訓。

received their mandate. We should then also (think of =) remember the mandates of these two states (sc. Hia and Yin), and in succeeding to them equal their merits. Now the king starts to undertake the mandate. — 19. Oh, it is like bearing a child, all depends on the (first bearing =) birth, oneself gives it the endowment of wisdom (sc. as innate gift). (So) Heaven endows with wisdom, it endows with good or bad fortune, it endows with so-and-so many years. We know (only) that now we start to undertake (the mandate), and reside in the new city. — 20. May the king (by the virtue's use =) by means of virtue pray for Heaven's eternal mandate. — 21. Being king, he should not, because the small people go to excess and use irregular (practices), likewise dare rule the people by exterminating capital punishments; (thus =) in this way he will have achievements. — 22. Being king, his position will be (at the head of virtue =) that of a leader in virtue; the small people will then (imitate and use =) imitate him in all the world. The king will then also become illustrious. — 23. May those above and below (i. e. the king and his servants) labour and be anxiously careful, may they say: we have received Heaven's mandate, may it grandly equal the series of years of the lords of Hia and (also) not miss the series of years of the lords of Yin. I wish that the king through the small people may receive Heaven's eternal mandate. — 24. I salute and bow down the head and say: I, the small servant, dare, with all the grandees of the king's hostile people (sc. the vanquished Yin) and with the friendly people (i. e. the allied states), observe and receive the king's majestic decrees and his bright virtue. The king finally will have a definite mandate, and the king will also be illustrious. It is not that I presume to be zealous, I only respectfully present gifts and thereby I furnish something wherewith the king can pray for Heaven's eternal mandate.

**Lo kao.**

1. Chou Kung saluted and bowed down the head and said: I report to (you) my son and bright sovereign. — 2. If the king will not (come to =) settle in (the place where) Heaven founded the mandate and fixed the mandate (i. e. the Western capital Hao), I have followed the Guardian (i. e. Shao Kung) and grandly inspected the Eastern lands, in order to found (a place where) he shall be the people's bright sovereign. — 3. On the day y i-m a o, in the morning I came to (the intended) capital Lo. I prognosticated about (the region of) the Li river north of the Ho; I then prognosticated about (the region) east of the Kien river, and west of the Ch'an river; but it was (the region of) Lo that was ordered (sc. by the oracle). Again I prognosticated about (the region) east of the Ch'an river; but again, it was (the region of) Lo that was ordered. I have sent a messenger to come (to the king) and to bring a map and to present the oracles. — 4. The king saluted and bowed down the head and said: The prince has not dared but to reverence Heaven's grace; he has come and inspected the site. He will establish Chou so as to respond to the grace. When he had fixed the site, he sent a messenger

to come; and he has come to show me the grace and constant auspiciousness of the oracles. We two men have both verified (sc. the reading of the oracles). May the prince with me for myriads and ten myriads of years reverence Heaven's grace. I salute and bow down the head for his instructive words. — 5. Chou Kung said: May the king at first (corresponding to =) in accordance with the rites of the Yin make sacrifice in the new city. Range everything in order without confusion. — 6. I have marshalled all the officers, and sent them to follow the king to (the new) Chou; I have said (to them): May you (have performances =) partake in the sacrifices. — 7. Now, may the king go and command, saying: Record the merits, and in the ancestral temple according to merits let them act in the fundamental sacrifices. And may you command, saying: You (officers) have received your charges, sincerely to assist me, may you grandly show your achievements. — 8. Then you should in everything yourself instruct them to achievements. — 9. The young son should (associate =) find associates; the young son should find associates, he should (go to them =) frequent them; but he should not be like a fire (i. e. too fervent in his friendship); it first flames up, and where it blazes by and by it cannot be extinguished. — 10. In following the laws, and in handling the affairs, be like me. Take the officers existing in (the original) Chou, go to the new city, and make them turn to their colleagues (there). Brightly work and have merits, amply and greatly achieve opulence. You will (then) forever have (words about you =) praise. — 11. The prince said: Oh, you, young man, may you (bring to an end =) achieve (the work). — 12. You should carefully record (which of) the many princes bring offerings; and you should also record those who do not bring offerings. In the offerings there are many courtesies; if the courtesies are not equal to the objects (offered), it may be said to be no offerings. If (a prince) does not exert his will in the offerings, (even) the common people will say: we bring no offerings. And the performances (of the sacrifices) will be faulty and disgraced. — 13. Now you, youngster, are (ranked =) put in your proper rank (sc. as king), but I shall not be idle, you should listen to my instructions to you in regard to what are not the proper practices of the people. If you do not exert yourself in this, then you shall not continue for long. Amply regulate your principal officers; and if (in nothing you do not imitate me =) you follow my example in everything, they will not dare reject your orders. Go and be reverent. Here I shall cultivate the husbandry, there you shall make opulent our people; without (consideration of the) distance they will therefore come (to you). — 14. The king spoke thus: You, prince, are a bright protector to me, young man. You set forth a grandly illustrious virtue, and make me, little child, extol the virtuous deeds of Wen and Wu; (I shall) receive and respond to Heaven's charge, unite and reach to all the people of the myriad states and the four quarters, and reside in the (new) capital. — 15. (I shall) give weight to the great rites of the ancestral temple, take up and regulate the fundamental sacrifices, and range everything in order without confusion. — 16. Your virtue, prince, shines brightly above and below, and is earnestly

applied to the (lands of) the four quarters. Everywhere you are an august directing (balancer =) arbiter, who does not go astray in regard to the earnest instructions of Wen and Wu. I, young man, early and late shall be careful about the sacrifices. — 17. The king said: Your achievements, oh prince, have aided and guided me strongly, I shall imitate those in everything. — 18. The king said: Oh prince, I, little child, will withdraw (sc. from this meeting) and go and be sovereign in Chou, and give investiture to a successor for you (sc. in Lu, since you will stay with me as adviser). — 19. The (lands of) the four quarters have been led to rebellion, and there is still nothing settled about the rites in the ancestral temple; I have also been unable to achieve your work. — 20. May you guide and support me in future, supervise all my serving officials, greatly protect the people received by Wen and Wu and govern and manage the Four Helpers (i. e. be the chief among the highest dignitaries). — 21. The king said: You, prince, have (fixed =) arranged for my going (to Lo); your achievements (there) will quickly be respected and admired. May you, prince, not distress me (sc. by going away), do not weary of your tranquillizing work. Do not give up being a model, the (lands of the) four quarters will for generations enjoy (the benefit of it). — 22. Chou Kung saluted and bowed down the head saying: You, king, have ordered me to come. I shall take care of and guard the people received in charge by your grandfather Wen and extol your bright and majestic father Wu Wang's great teachings. — 23. Together with you, my young son, I will come and inspect the site. May you grandly and amply direct Yin's eminent people, govern and manage the new princes of the four quarters, and cause the Chou to be respected and take the precedence. I say, if you govern from this centre, the myriad states will all enjoy peace, and you, the king, will have complete achievements. — 24. I, Tan, with the many noblemen and managers of affairs, will consolidate the predecessors' achieved bright deeds, respond to (the expectations of) the multitudes and cause the Chou to be trusted and take the precedence. I will perfect the (pattern =) example for you, my bright son, and so carry out entirely the virtue of your grandfather Wen. — 25. One has sent me to (caution =) admonish the (people of) Yin, and order was given to favour me with two Yu flasks of aromatic blackmillet wine. I (then) said: »I make a bright pure sacrifice (sc. of this), I salute and bow down the head and make a fine offering.» — 26. I dared not stay overnight (sc. in the new settlement) before I (thus) made the pure sacrifice to Wen Wang and Wu Wang. — 27. Kindly and amply regulate (your people), (so that there is no coming across that you find =) so that you have no occasion to find fault with yourself; (then) they will for a myriad years be replete with your virtue, and the Yin (people) then will be induced to (finish, settle =) make peace. — 28. The king has sent a message to the Yin (sc. through me), and they have received the orderly rules for a myriad years. May they forever observe you, my son, and cherish your virtue. — 29. On the day m o u c h'e n the king was in the new city and made the winter sacrifice; and then, in making the sacrifice of the

23. (恭) 共孺子來相宅。其大惇典殷獻民。亂[嗣司]為四方新辟。作周  
 祀先。曰其自時中乂。萬邦咸休。惟王有成績。24. 予旦以多子越御事。篤  
 前人成烈。答其師。作周孚先。考朕昭子利。乃單文祖德。25. 仰來豈殷。乃  
 命寧予以秬鬯二卣。曰。明禋。拜手稽首休享。26. 予不敢宿。則禋于文王  
 武王。27. 惠篤敍無有遺。自疾。萬年獻于乃德。殷乃引考。28. 王作殷。乃承  
 紂萬年。其永觀朕子懷德。29. 戊辰王在新邑烝。祭歲文王。驛牛一。武王  
 驛牛一。王命作冊。逸祝冊。惟告周公其後。王賓叔禋咸格。王入太室裸。  
 30. 王命周公後作冊。逸誥在十有二月。惟周公誕保文武受命。惟七年。  
 多士。1. 惟三月周公初于新邑洛。用告商王士。2. 王若曰。爾殷遺多  
 士。弗弔是天大降喪于殷。我有周佑命。將天明威致王罰。勑殷命。終于  
 帝。3. 肆爾多士。非我小國。敢弋。[em.:=敢冀]殷命。惟天不畀允。罔  
 (固亂)。怙亂。弼我。我其敢求位。4. 惟帝不畀。惟我下民秉為。惟天明畏。  
 5. 我聞曰。上帝引逸。有夏不適逸。則惟帝降格。嚮于時夏。弗克用帝。大  
 淙泲有辭。惟時天罔念聞厥惟廢元命。降致罰。6. 乃命爾先祖成湯革  
 夏。俊民甸四方。7. 自成湯至于帝乙。罔不明德。恤祀。8. 亦惟天丕建。保  
 乂有殷。殷王亦罔敢失帝。罔不配天其澤。9. 在今後嗣王誕罔顧于天。  
 無曰。其有聽念于先王勤家。誕淫厥泲。罔顧于天顯民祇。10. 惟時上帝  
 不保。降苦茲大喪。11. 惟天不畀。不明厥德。12. 凡四方小大邦喪罔非有  
 辭于罰。13. 王若曰。爾殷多士。今惟我周王丕靈承帝事。14. 有命曰割殷  
 告勑于帝。15. 惟我事不貳適。惟爾王家我適。16. 予其曰。惟爾洪無度。我  
 不爾勑。自乃邑。17. 予亦念。天即于殷大戾。肆不正[征]。18. 王曰。猷告爾多士。  
 予惟時其遷居西爾。非我一人奉德。不康寧。時惟天命。無違。朕不敢有  
 後。無我怨。19. 惟爾知。惟殷先人有冊。有典殷革夏命。20. 今爾又曰。夏迪  
 簡在王庭。有服在百僚。予一人惟聽用德。肆予敢求爾于天邑商。予惟  
 率肆矜爾。非予罪。時惟天命。21. 王曰。多士告爾多士。昔朕來自奄。予大  
 降爾四國民命。我乃明致天罰。移爾遐逖。比事臣我宗多遼。22. 王曰。告  
 尔殷多士。今予惟不爾殺。予惟時命有申。今朕作大邑于茲洛。予惟四  
 方罔攸賓[擴]。亦惟爾多士攸服。奔走臣我多遼。23. 爾乃尚有爾土。爾

(commencement of the) year, Wen Wang (received) one red bull and Wu Wang one red bull. The king gave order to make a brevet, and Yi recited the brevet and announced (sc. to the Spirits) that Chou Kung (would be succeeded =) was to have a successor (sc. in Lu). The king's guests (i. e. the Royal Spirits) at the killing and sacrifice all came. The king entered the great apartement and made the libation. The king's giving investiture to Chou Kung's successor, his making a brevet and Yi's announcement (thereof) were in the 12th month. Chou Kung had grandly preserved the mandate, received by Wen Wang and Wu Wang, for seven years.

To shi.

1. In the 3rd month Chou Kung started in the new city Lo, and on that occasion made an announcement to the royal officers of Shang. — 2. The king has spoken thus: You, Yin's remaining many officers! The merciless and severe Heaven has greatly sent down destruction on the Yin. We Chou have assisted the decree, and taking Heaven's bright majesty we effected the royal punishment and rightly disposed the mandate of Yin; it was terminated by God. — 3. Now then, you many officers, it was not that our small state dared aspire to Yin's mandate. Heaven's not giving favour (to Yin) was (sincere =) definite; without our (relying =) taking advantage of the disorder (of Yin), it helped us. How should we have dared seek the throne? — 4. God did not give favour (to Yin); what our lower people held on to and did, that was (the expression of) Heaven's discernment and severity. — 5. I have heard it said that God on High would guide the idly-sportive, but the lord of Hia (i. e. Kie) did not moderate his idle sports. Then God descended and ascended (i. e. visited the temple to enjoy the sacrifices) and approached that Hia (king), but he (could not use =) did not care about God. He was greatly licentious and dissolute and had (words about him =) (ill) fame. Then Heaven did not care about or listen to him. And when he (rejected =) neglected its great mandate, it sent down and applied punishment. — 6. And so it charged your ancestor Ch'eng T'ang to (change =) depose the Hia, and through talented men of the people regulate the (lands of) the four quarters. — 7. From Ch'eng T'ang to Ti Yi there were none who did not make bright their virtue and carefully attend to the sacrifices. — 8. Heaven also grandly established them, and protected and (governed =) directed the lords of Yin. Of the Yin kings also none dared (lose =) neglect God. There were none who were not counterparts to Heaven in benefiting (the people). — 9. Their successor in our time greatly lacked (clearness =) a clear understanding of Heaven. Still less was he willing to think of how the earlier kings toiled for the house. He was greatly licentious in his dissoluteness. He had no consideration for Heaven's (clearness =) clear laws, nor for the respect due to the people. — 10. Then God on High did not protect him, and sent down destruction as great as this. — 11. Heaven did not give him favour, (because) he did not make bright his virtue. — 12. Of all the small and great states in the four quarters that were destroyed, there were none that had not indictments for punishments. — 13. The king has spoken

thus: You, many officers of Yin, now our Chou king grandly and excellently has taken over God's affairs (sc. here below). — 14. There was the (heavenly) charge, saying: (injure =) destroy Yin. And (now) he has reported his (regulating =) reform work to God. — 15. Our affairs (sc. in the realm) do not go in two directions (sc. they are all in Chou's hands, none in Yin's); your royal house has (gone to =) come to us (sc. as subjects). — 16. I will tell you. It is you who have been greatly lawless, I did not (move you =) cause your displacement (sc. to this new city), it originated in your (own) city. — 17. I also think of how Heaven has (already) applied to Yin a great (guilt =) punishment, therefore I do not punishingly attack you (further). — 18. The king has said: I will discourse and tell you, many officers. I have, because of that, transferred and settled you in the west. It is not that the (virtue =) character which I, the One Man, (carry =) have is unruly; this was the command of Heaven, do not (transgress =) disobey it. I dared not be dilatory. Do not bear resentment against me. — 19. You know that the earlier men of Yin had documents and records of how Yin superseded the mandate of Hia. — 20. Now you further say: »The Hia were promoted and selected and were in the (Yin) king's court, they had charges among the hundred officials.« I, the One Man, only listen to and employ the virtuous, and therefore I have presumed to seek in the heavenly city Shang. I shall pardon (or, with the Kin-wen: tranquillize) you all and pity you. It is not that I am at fault, it is Heaven's command. — 21. The king has said: I tell you, many officers, when I came from Yen, I grandly sent down orders to the peoples of your four states, and I then brightly applied Heaven's punishment. I have removed you far, to associate with and serve our dignitaries with much obedience. — 22. The king has said: I tell you, many officers of Yin, now when I have not killed you, I repeat my orders. Now I make a big city in this Lo. In the four quarters I have none whom I reject. And what you, many officers, should perform is to hasten about and serve us, with much obedience. — 23. May you have your lands, may you find peace in your occupations and your dwellings. — 24. If you can be reverently careful, Heaven will give you favour and pity you. If you cannot be reverently careful, not only will you not have your lands, I shall also apply Heaven's punishment to your persons. — 25. Now you shall reside there in your city, and perpetuate your dwellings. You will then have occupations and years in this Lo. Your young children will (rise =) prosper, it will follow from your removal (sc. here to Lo). — 26. The king has said . . . [here some words of the text have probably been lost]. Again he has said: now I have, (perchance =) I hope, (told =) explained where you are to dwell.

**Wu yi.**

1. Chou Kung said: Oh, what the noble man aims at is to have no pleasurable ease. — 2. If you take your ease after first having experienced the hardships of husbandry, then you will understand the sufferings of the small people. — 3. Look at the small people. When their fathers and mothers have toiled with husbandry,

乃尚寧幹止。24爾克敬。天惟畀矜爾。爾不克敬。爾不啻不有爾土。予亦致天之罰于爾躬。25今爾惟時宅爾邑。繼爾居。爾(厥, em.)乃有幹有年于茲洛。爾小子乃興。從爾遷。王曰....又曰。時予乃或言爾攸居。

無逸。1.周公曰。嗚呼。君子所其[期]無逸。2.先知稼穡之艱難。則知小人之依[隱]。3.相小人。厥父母勤勞稼穡。厥子乃不知稼穡之艱難。乃逸乃謗。乃勸[佚]乃憲。既(誕否)誕不[丕]。則侮厥父母曰。昔之人無聞知。4.周公曰。嗚呼。我聞曰。昔在殷王中宗嚴恭寅畏。天命自度。(治民, em.)以民。祇懼。不敢荒寧。肆中宗之享國七十有五年。5.其在高宗。時舊勞于外。(爰)為盤小人。作其卽位。乃或亮陰三年不言。其惟不言。言乃雍。不敢荒寧。(嘉靖)密靖殷邦。至于小大。無時或怨。肆高宗之享國五十(有九)有五年。6.其在祖甲。不義惟王。舊為小人。作其卽位。爰知小人之依[隱]。能保惠于庶民。不敢侮鳏寡。則祖甲之享國三十有三年。7.自時厥後立王。生則逸。生則逸。不知稼穡之艱難。不聞小人之勞。惟耽樂之從。自時厥後亦罔或克壽。或十年。或七八年。或五六年。或四三年。8.周公曰。嗚呼。厥亦惟我周太王王季克自抑畏。9.文王卑服。卽康功田功。10.徽柔懿恭。懷保小民。惠鮮鳏寡。自朝至于日中昃。不遑暇食用咸[誠]和萬民。11.文王不敢盤于遊田。以庶邦惟正[政]之供。文王受命惟中身。厥享國五十年。12.周公曰。嗚呼。繼自今嗣王則其(無淫于觀于逸于遊于田)無淫于酒。無逸于遊田。以萬民惟正[政]之供。13.(無皇)無兄[况]。曰。今日耽樂。乃非民攸訓。非天攸若。時人丕則有愆。無若殷王受(var. 約)之迷亂。酗于酒德哉。14.周公曰。嗚呼。我聞曰。古之人猶胥訓告。胥保惠。胥教誨。民無或胥譖張為幻。15.此厥(不聽)不聖。人乃訓之。乃變亂先王之正刑。至于小大。民否。則厥心違怨。否則厥口詛祝。16.周公曰。嗚呼。自殷王中宗及高宗及祖甲及我周文王。茲四人迪哲。17.厥或告之曰。小人怨汝詈汝。(則皇)則兄[况]自敬德。厥愆曰。朕之愆。允若時。不啻不敢含怒。18.此厥(不聽)不聖。人乃或譖張為幻曰。小人怨汝詈汝。則信之。則若時。不永念厥辟。不寬綽厥心。亂罰無罪。殺無辜。怨有同。是叢于厥身。19.周公曰。嗚呼。嗣王其監于茲。

their sons do not know the hardships of husbandry and take their pleasurable ease and rejoice, and finally they become (extravagant =) disorderly and (great =) overbearing and insult their parents, saying: Those antiquated people have heard nothing and know nothing. — 4. Chou Kung said: Oh, I have heard that anciently Yin's king Chung Tsung was dignified, respectful, reverent and fearful. By (the norms of) Heaven's commands he measured himself, through the respect due to the people he felt awed. He dared not be in useless repose, and thus Chung Tsung's enjoyment of the realm lasted for seventyfive years. — 5. When (it rested with Kao Tsung =) the turn came to Kao Tsung, he for long toiled (outside =) away from the court and he (acted =) worked together with the small people. At the start, when he came to the high position (i. e. ascended the throne), then, it is said, the light was obscured (i. e. the ruler withdrew into seclusion) and for three years he did not speak. His speaking without words (i. e. by his example) was harmonious. He dared not be in useless repose. He tranquillized Yin's state, it reached to small and great. There were none who peradventure bore resentment against him. Thus Kao Tsung's enjoyment of the realm lasted for fiftyfive years. — 6. When (it rested with Tsu Kia =) the turn came to Tsu Kia, it was not (right, reasonable =) to be expected that he should become king (sc. two brothers preceding him on the throne), and for long he was (one of) the small people. At the start, when he came to the high position, then he knew the sufferings of the small people. He could give protection and kindness to the common people, and he dared not insult widowers and widows. Thus Tsu Kia's enjoyment of the realm lasted for 33 years. — 7. The kings who arose after this, during their (whole) life enjoyed ease; during their life they enjoyed ease and did not know the hardships of husbandry, they did not hear about the toilings of the small people. They (pursued =) were bent on being steeped in pleasure. After this there were none who had any chance of reaching a high age; some had ten years (sc. on the throne), some seven or eight years, some five or six years, some four or three years. — 8. Chou Kung said: Oh, when it (likewise =) in the same way was (the turn of) our Chou, T'ai Wang and Wang Ki could restrain themselves and be awed. — 9. Wen Wang was humble and submissive, he applied himself to peaceful achievements and to agricultural achievements. — 10. He was finely (soft =) mild and beautifully respectful, he cherished and protected the small people, he was kind and good to widowers and widows. From morning to the sun's being in the middle (of its course) and being (slanting =) in the west he had no time to eat at leisure. And thus he united and harmonized the myriad people. — 11. Wen Wang dared not amuse himself in excursions and hunts. Together with the many states he (furnished =) managed the government. Wen Wang received the mandate in the middle of life, and his enjoyment of the realm lasted for fifty years. — 12. Chou Kung said: Oh, the succeeding king, who will continue (the line) from now, should not be excessive in wine and not licentious in excursions and hunting. Together with the myriad people he should (furnish =) manage the government. — 13. Do not moreover (i. e. deliberately) say: today I

will (be steeped in =) indulge in pleasure. That is not what the people comply with, it is not what Heaven approves of. The people of the age will greatly take as pattern the faults you have. Do not imitate the errors and disorders of the king of Yin, Shou (or: Chou), and his disposition of one madly given to wine. — 14. Chou Kung said: Oh, I have heard that the ancient men informed and told each other, protected and cherished each other, taught and instructed each other. Among the people, there were hardly any who imposed on each other or did cheating tricks. — 15. If now you are not wise, people will comply with you and change and disorder the former kings' correct laws, reaching to both small and large. If the people disapprove of you, their hearts will bear resentment; if they disapprove of you, their mouths will curse you. — 16. Chou Kung said: Oh, from the Yin king Chung Tsung to Kao Tsung and to Tsu Kia and to our Wen Wang of Chou, these four men (walked in wisdom =) pursued the course of wisdom. — 17. If somebody told them: the small people bear resentment against you and revile you, then all the more they paid careful attention to their virtue. As to their faults, they said: that is my fault. When it truly was like this, they not only dared not bear anger (sc. they even welcomed criticism). — 18. If now you are not wise, people may impose on you and do cheating tricks, saying: the small people bear resentment against you and revile you; and then you believe it. When it then is like this, you will not be always thinking of your laws. You will not make generous your heart, but disorderly punish the guiltless and kill the innocent. The resentment will be unanimous, and it will be heaped upon your person. — 19. Chou Kung said: Oh, may the succeeding king scrutinize this.

#### Kün Shi.

1. Chou Kung spoke thus. Prince Shi! — 2. The merciless Heaven sent down destruction on Yin. When Yin ruined its mandate, we lords of Chou received it. I do not presume to know and say: in the foundation time, for all future one trusts in one's felicity, but Heaven is not to be relied on. But I (also =) on the other hand do not presume to know and say: it will finally end in misfortune. — 3. Oh, you, prince, have said that it depends on me. I likewise dare not be tranquil in the mandate of God on High, not fail to think far-reachingly of Heaven's majesty and of our people. That there are no faults or transgressions is because there are men there (i. e. I am in office). (If) our succeeding sons and grandsons are greatly unable to be respectful upwards and downwards (i. e. towards Heaven and the people), and bring to an end and lose the former mens' glory over the house, and do not know that Heaven's mandate is not easy, and that Heaven is difficult to rely on, then they will ruin the mandate. — 4. They will not be able at length to succeed to the former men and (furnish =) accomplish their bright virtue. — 5. At present I, the little child Tan, cannot have a correct (walk =) conduct; it is the glory of the former men that (extends =) reaches to our young son (i. e. Ch'eng Wang). — 6. He further said: Heaven cannot be trusted. My (walk =) conduct

君奭。1周公若曰。君奭。2弗弔天降喪于殷。殷既墮厥命。我有周既受我不敢知曰。厥基永孚于休。若天棐忱。我亦不敢知曰。其終出于不祥。3嗚呼。君已曰。(時我, em.)侍我。我亦不敢寧于上帝命。弗永遠念。天威越我民。罔尤違。惟人在我後嗣子孫大弗克恭上下。過佚)失。前人光在家。不知天命不易。天難譴。乃其墮命。4弗克經歷嗣前人(恭明, em.)共[供]明德。5在今予小子旦非克有正迪。惟前人光施于我沖子。6又曰。天不可信。(我道)我迪。惟寧王德延。天不庸釋于文王受命。7公曰。君奭。我聞在昔成湯既受命。時則有若伊尹。格于皇天。在太甲。時則有若保衡。在太戊。時則有若伊陟臣扈。格于上帝。巫咸乂王家。在祖乙。時則有若巫賈。在武丁。時則有若甘盤。8率惟茲有陳。保乂有殷。故殷禮陟配天。多歷年所。9天惟純佑命。則商[賈]實百姓。王人罔不秉德。明恤小臣。屏侯甸矧。咸奔走。惟茲惟德稱。用乂厥辟。故一人有事于四方。若卜筮。罔不是孚。10公曰。君奭。天壽平格保乂有殷。有殷嗣天滅威。今汝永念。則有固命。厥亂[嗣司]明我新造邦。11公曰。君奭。在昔上帝(割申勸寧王)。周由觀文王之德。其集大命于厥躬。12惟文王尚克修和。我有夏亦惟有若虢叔。有若閔夫。有若散宜生。有若泰顛。有若南宮括。13又曰。無能往來。茲迪彝教。文王羨德。降于國人。14亦惟純佑秉德。迪知天威。乃惟時昭文王。迪見。旨聞于上帝。惟時受有殷命。15哉[在]武王。惟茲四人尚迪有祿。後暨武王誕將天威。咸劉厥敵。惟茲四人昭武王。惟冒丕單稱德。16今在于小子旦若游大川。予往暨汝更其濟。小子同未在位。誕無我責。收罔勦不及。考造德不降。我則嗚鳥不聞矧曰其有能格。17公曰。嗚呼。君肆其盈于茲。我受命無疆。惟休。亦大惟艱。告君(乃缺裕, em.)厥猷欲。我不以後人迷。18公曰。前人敷(乃心, em.)厥心。乃懸命汝。作汝民極。曰汝明勵。偶王在[哉]。亶稱茲大命。惟文王德丕承無疆之恤。19公曰。君。告汝(朕允)朕兄保奭。其汝克敬以于盈于殷喪大否。肆念我天威。20予不[丕]允若茲誥。予惟曰。襄我二人。汝有合哉。言曰。在時二人天休滋至。惟時二人弗欺。其汝克敬德。明我後民在[哉]。讓後人于丕時。21嗚呼。雋棐時二人。我式克至于今日。休我咸成文王功于不怠。

(is only that =) only means that the serene kings' virtue is (prolonged =) continued (i. e. I have no merit myself, being only a transmitter). Heaven does not therefore annul the mandate received by Wen Wang. — 7. The prince said: Prince Shī! I have heard that anciently, when Ch'eng T'ang had received the mandate, then there was a man like Yi Yin, who attained to august Heaven. When (it rested with T'ai Kia =) the turn came to T'ai Kia, then there was a man like Pao Heng («The protecting arbiter»). When the turn came to T'ai Mou then there were men like Yi Chi and Ch'en Hu, who attained to God on High. Wu Hien (I) directed the royal house. When the turn came to Tsu Yi, then there was a man like Wu Hien (II); When it came to Tsu Ting then there was a man like Kan P'an. — 8. All these (had display =) were illustrious, and they protected and directed the lords of Yin. Therefore in the Yin rites, when they (sc. the lords) died, they were counterparts to Heaven (i. e. styled Ti like Shang Ti), and they passed through a great quantity of years. Heaven greatly supported their mandate, and so they endowed and enriched the people; of the (royal men =) men of the royal line there were none who did not hold on to virtue, and they enlightenededly cared about the smaller (servants =) officers, who guarded the hou and tien dominions; how much the more, then, did all (hurry about =) work eagerly! As to these (said ministers), their virtue was set forth, and thus they directed their princes. Therefore, when the One Man had (sacrificial) performances in the four quarters, and when he took tortoise and milfoil oracles, there were none who did not have confidence in him. — 10. The prince said: Prince Shī! With long lives given by Heaven, just and intelligent, they (sc. the ministers) protected and directed the lords of Yin. Yin's (last) successor, Heaven destroyed and overawed him. If you now think far-reachingly, then you will have a steady mandate, and your governing will make bright our newly-created state. — 11. The prince said: Prince Shī! Formerly God on High in the fields of Chou observed Wen Wang's virtue, and so it centred the great mandate in his person. — 12. But that Wen Wang was still able to make concordant the Hia (i. e. Chinese states) in our possession was because he had such (men) as Shu of Kuo, such as Hung Yao, such as San Yi-sheng, such as T'ai Tien, such as Nan-kung Kuo. — 13. Again he said: If they had not been able to go and come (on the king's errands), and here brought forward the normative teachings, Wen Wang would have had no virtue to send down on the state's people. — 14. They also grandly helped him to hold on to virtue, and led him forward to understand Heaven's majesty. Those (men) enlightened (i. e. guided) Wen Wang, he advanced and was illustrious, it was seen and heard by God on High, and he received the mandate of the lords of Yin. — 15. Under Wu Wang, (these four men =) four of these men still advanced and had their emoluments (i. e. were alive and in office). Afterwards, together with Wu Wang, they grandly wielded Heaven's majesty and killed all his enemies. These four men (enlightened =) guided Wu Wang; he looked at them and grandly and entirely displayed his virtue. — 16. Now it rests with me, the little child Tan. I am as if floating on a great stream. I shall go and together

with you, Shī, cross it. (I), the little child, am just the same as when not yet in the high position (sc. regent). Do not request me to (settle up =) retire; without encouragement I shall not (arrive =) succeed. If (men who are) old and of perfected virtue do not condescend (sc. to help), to us (Chou) then no singing bird (sc. of good augury) will make itself heard; how much the less shall we be able to (arrive =) succeed. — 17. The prince said: Oh, may you, prince, now scrutinize this. The mandate which we have received, limitless is its beauty, but great are also its difficulties. I tell you, prince, my plans and intentions; I will not with the successor (i. e. the young king) go astray. — 18. The prince said: The predecessors disclosed their hearts, and in everything instructed you, to constitute a standard for your people. You should brightly exert yourself to be a helpmate to the king, and (exhaustingly =) to the utmost carry on this great charge. Wen Wang's virtue was a greatly (lifted =) celebrated and boundless care. — 19. The prince said: Oh, prince! I tell you, my brother, guardian Shī! May you be able carefully together with me to scrutinize Yin's ruin and great wickedness, and so consider our Heaven-(given) majesty. — 20. I very sincerely speak like this. I tell you: (achieve =) follow up the work of our two men (sc. the founders Wen and Wu); you should (have agreement =) act in accord (with them). It is said that at the time of those two men, Heaven's grace evermore arrived (those two men not being able to sustain it =) more than those two men could sustain. May you be able to attend carefully to virtue. Distinguish our prominent men. (Give way to =) accede to the successor (sc. the king, who wants you to stay) in this great time. — 21. Oh, by sincerely assisting those two men (sc. the founders Wen and Wu), we (Chou) have been able to attain to the prosperity of today. Let us (all =) together achieve Wen Wang's work, without laziness. It shall grandly extend over the corners of the seas and the (rising sun =) place where the sun rises. There shall be none who are not obedient and humble. — 22. The prince said: Oh prince, I very reasonably speak a great deal like this. I thereby exert myself for Heaven and the people. — 23. The prince said: Oh, you, prince, know the virtue of the people: there are none who are not capable of the beginning; but the end! (i. e. they are fickle). (It is only like this =) that is all. Go and be reverently attentive and thus exercise your government.

To fang.

1. In the 5th month, on the day t i n g - h a i, the king came from Yen and arrived in Tsung Chou. — 2. Chou Kung said: The king has spoken thus: I will discourse and tell you four states and numerous (other) regions, you officials and (common) people of the prince of Yin. I grandly (send down orders to you =) give you my commands. May none of you (not know =) fail to take cognizance. — 3. You greatly despise Heaven's command, and do not perpetually and reverently think of the sacrifices. — 4. God descended and ascended (i. e. visited the temple) with (*au près de*) the Hia (king), but the lord of Hia increased his pleasurable ease, and he was not willing (anxiously =) solicitously to speak to the people. He was

丕冒海隅出日。罔不率俾[卑]。22.公曰。惠。予不[丕]惠若茲多誥。予惟用  
閔于天越民。23.公曰。嗚呼。吾惟乃知民德。亦罔不能厥初。惟其終。祇若  
茲。往敬用治。

多方。1.惟五月丁亥。王來自奄。至于宗周。2.周公曰。王若曰。猷告爾四  
國多方。惟爾殷侯尹民。我惟大降爾命。爾罔不知。3.洪(惟圖, em.)惟鄙天之  
命。弗永寅念于祀。4.惟帝降格于夏。有夏誕厥遠。不肯感言于民。乃大  
淫昏。不克終日勤于帝之迪。乃爾攸聞。5.厥(圖, em.)鄙帝之命。不克開于  
民之麗。乃大降罰。崇亂有夏。因甲[狎]于內亂。不克靈承于旅。罔丕惟進  
之恭。洪舒于民。亦惟有夏之民。叨[切]憤日欽剝割夏邑。6.天惟時求  
民主。乃大降顯休命于成湯。刑殄有夏。7.惟天不畀純。乃惟以爾多方  
之義民。不克永于多享。惟夏之恭多士。大不克明保享于民。乃胥惟虐  
于民。至于百為大不克開。8.乃惟成湯克以爾多方(簡代, em.)簡代。夏作  
民主。9.憤厥麗乃勤。厥民刑用勤。10.以至于帝乙。罔不明德。憤罰。亦克  
用勤。11.要囚殄戮多罪。亦克用勤。開釋無辜。亦克用勤。12.今至于爾辟。  
弗克以爾多方享天之命。13.嗚呼。王若曰。誥告爾多方。非天庸[用]釋有  
夏。非天庸[用]釋有殷。14.乃惟爾辟(以爾多方大淫圖天之命胥有辭, em.)  
以爾多方鄙天之命。大淫胥[脩-佚]有辭。15.乃惟有夏(圖厥, em.)鄙厥政。  
不集于享。天降時喪。有邦間之。16.乃惟爾商後王逸厥遠(圖厥, em.)鄙  
厥政。不蠲蒸。天惟降時喪。17.惟聖罔念作狂。惟狂克念作聖。天惟五年  
須暇之。子孫誕作民主。罔可(念聽, em.)念聖。18.天惟求爾多方。大勤以  
威。開厥顧天。惟爾多方罔堪顧之。19.惟我周王靈承于旅。克堪用德。惟  
典神天。天惟式教我用休。簡畀殷命。尹爾多方。20.今我曷敢多誥。我惟  
大降爾四國民命。21.爾曷不忧裕之于爾多方。爾曷不夾介以我周王。  
享天之命。今爾尚宅爾宅。畋爾田。爾曷不惠王熙天之命。22.爾乃迪屢  
不靜。爾心未憂。爾乃不大宅天命。爾乃胥[脩-佚]播天命。爾乃自作不典。  
(圖忧, em.)鄙忧于正。23.我惟時其教告之。我惟時其戰要囚之。至于再。  
至于三。乃有不用我降爾命。我乃其大罰殛之。非我有周秉德不康寧。  
乃惟爾自速辜。24.王曰。嗚呼。猷告爾有方多士暨殷多士。今爾奔走臣

greatly licentious and darkened, and could not for a whole day be stimulated by God's guidance. This is what you have heard. — 5. Despising God's command, he could not set free those of the people who had been assigned (for punishment), and so he greatly sent down punishments, and he heavily disordered the Hia realm. And then he was familiar with the disorderly ones in the interior (i. e. palace). He could not excellently take care of the multitude. He did not grandly bring them forward to reverence (sc. for him). He was greatly lazy towards the people. Also the people of the lord of Hia, their grief and annoyance became daily more intense. He destroyed and injured the city of Hia. — 6. Heaven then sought a (new) lord for the people, and grandly it sent down its illustrious and felicitous mandate to Ch'eng T'ang (T'ang the Achiever), and it punished and destroyed the lord of Hia. — 7. Heaven's not giving favour (to Hia) was (great =) definite; (using =) having the righteous people of your numerous regions he (still) could not continue long in the ample enjoyment (of the mandate). Hia's (respected =) trusted officers were greatly unable brightly to protect and to give bounties to the people. And so, together with them he oppressed the people, so that in the (hundred =) numerous actions he was greatly unable to (set free =) condone (the accused). — 8. Then Ch'eng T'ang, having your numerous regions, could supersede Hia and become the lord of the people. — 9. He was careful about those who were assigned (for punishments) and so he stimulated (the people). The people imitated him and were stimulated. — 10. Right up to Ti Yi there were none who did not make bright their virtue and be careful about the punishments, and thus they also could stimulate (the people). — 11. (Summing up =) trying the cases of arrest, they destroyed and put to death those who had many crimes, and thus stimulated (the people); they set free the innocent, and thus could also stimulate (the people). — 12. But now, when it came to your sovereign (i. e. the last Yin king), he could not, having your numerous regions, enjoy Heaven's mandate. — 13. Oh! The king has spoken thus: I inform and tell (you in) your numerous regions, it was not that Heaven thus did away with the lords of Hia, it was not that Heaven thus did away with the lords of Yin. — 14. But it was that your sovereign, having your numerous regions, despised Heaven's command; he was greatly licentious and dissolute and (had words about him =) had (ill) fame. — 15. It was that the lord of Hia despised his government work, and he did not achieve the enjoyment (of the mandate). Heaven sent down that ruin, and a (possessor of a state =) feudal prince superseded him. — 16. It was that your last king of Shang (made easy his ease =) enjoyed his pleasurable ease, despised his government work and did not bring pure sacrifices. Heaven then sent down that ruin. — 17. The wise, if he does not think, will become foolish, the foolish, if he can think, will become wise. Heaven for 5 years waited and gave respite to him, (so that) his sons and grandsons would grandly be the lords of the people, but he could not think or be wise. — 18. Heaven then searched in your numerous regions and greatly shook you by its severity; it would condone those who had regard for Heaven, but in your numerous regions there were

none who were able to have regard for it. — 19. But our king of Chou excellently took care of the people, he was able to use the virtue, and preside over (the sacrifices to) the Spirits and to Heaven. Heaven then instructed us to avail ourselves of its grace, it selected us and gave us Yin's mandate, to rule over your numerous regions. — 20. Now, how dare I make these many declarations? I grandly send down orders to the men of your four states. — 21. Why do you not make them truly opulent in your numerous regions? Why do you not support and assist and (direct =) guide our king of Chou, to enjoy Heaven's mandate? Now, may you still dwell in your dwellings and cultivate your fields. Why do you not obey the king and make Heaven's mandate resplendent? — 22. You have been guided, but repeatedly you have been unruly. Your hearts are not yet affectionate. You do not greatly (settle =) consolidate Heaven's mandate. You (dissolutely =) recklessly reject the command of Heaven. You yourselves do unlawful things and despise being faithful to your superiors. — 23. I will therefore instruct and tell you. I will therefore put fear into you and arrest you for trial, even twice, even thrice. If there are those who do not (use =) obey the orders which I have sent down to you, I will greatly punish and kill them. It is not that the (virtue =) character which we Chou (hold =) have is unruly, it is that you yourselves draw upon yourselves guilt. — 24. The king has said: Oh, I will discourse and tell you, many officers of the extant states, and Yin's many officers. Now you have hastened about and served our inspectors for five years. — 25. As to the (waited-for) expected contributions (gifts) and the many exactions, small and large, there are none of you who cannot (be lawful =) follow the law. — 26. If you yourselves have been unconcordant, make yourselves concordant. If your houses are not harmonious, make them concordant. If your cities can be illustrious, then you have been able to be energetic in your service. — 27. The superiors will not have aversion for you for your evil dispositions. Then also you will in a dignified way remain in your high positions. You can be (pleased =) satisfied in your cities, and endeavour to assist (me). — 28. May you, from this city Lo, forever forcefully cultivate your fields. Heaven will endow you and pity you. We, lords of Chou, will greatly help and reward you. We will promote and select you to be in the king's court. We will (make high your service =) give you high offices, to have work among the great dignitaries. — 29. The king has said: Oh, you many officers, if you cannot be (stimulated =) induced (to be faithful to =) faithfully to observe my commands, then likewise you cannot bring offerings (sc. as tribute to me, your suzerain), and (even) the common people will say: we bring no offerings. If you are licentious and perverse, and greatly deviate from the king's commands, then your numerous regions will draw upon yourselves Heaven's severity. I will then apply Heaven's punishment, and remove you far from your lands. — 30. The king has said: I do not discourse much, I make announcement to you about my command. — 31. And further he has said: This (sc. removal) was because you in the beginning could not carefully observe concord; do not bear resentment against me.

我監五祀。25.越惟有(胥伯)胥賦。小大多正[征]。爾罔不克臬。26.自作不和。爾惟和哉。爾室不睦。爾惟和哉。爾邑克明。爾惟克勤乃事。27.爾(尚不)上不忌于凶德。亦則以穆穆在乃位。克閔[悦]于乃邑謀介。28.爾乃自時。洛邑尚永力。敬爾。田天惟畀。矜爾。我有周惟其大介。賚爾。迪簡在王庭。尚爾事。有服在大僚。29.王曰。嗚呼多士。爾不克勤。忧我命。爾亦則惟不克享。凡民惟曰不享。爾乃惟逸惟頗。大遠王命。則惟爾多方。探天之威。我則致天之罰。雖逖爾土。30.王曰。我不惟多誥。我惟祇[底]告爾命。31.又曰。時惟爾初不克敬于和。則無我怨。

立政。1.周公若曰。拜手稽首告嗣天子王矣。用咸戒于王曰。王左右常伯常任。準人綴衣虎賁。周公曰。嗚呼。休茲知恤鮮哉。2.古之人迪惟有夏。乃有室大競。顓俊尊上帝。迪知忧恂于九德之行。乃敢告教厥后曰。拜手稽首后矣。曰。宅乃事。宅乃牧。宅乃準。茲惟后矣。謀面[勵]用丕訓德。則乃宅人。茲乃三宅無義民。3.桀德惟乃弗作往任。是惟暴德。罔後。4.亦越成湯。防丕釐上帝之耿命。乃用三有宅。克即宅。曰三有俊。克即俊嚴。惟丕式。克用三宅三俊。其在商邑用協于厥邑。其在四方用丕式見德。5.嗚呼。其在受德。暨惟羞刑暴德之人同于厥邦。乃惟庶習逸德之人同于厥政。帝(欽罰, em.)錢罰之。乃仰我有夏式商受命。奄甸萬姓。6.亦越文王武王克知三有宅心。灼見三有俊心。以敬事上帝。立民長伯。7.立政任人。準夫牧作三事。8.虎賁綴衣趣馬小曳。左右攜僕百司。9.庶府大都小伯。藝人表臣百司。太史尹伯庶常吉士。10.司徒司馬司空亞旅。11.夷微盧蒸三烹。12.文王(惟克厥宅心)惟厥度心。乃克立茲常事司牧人。以克俊有德。13.文王罔攸兼[謙]于庶言。庶獄庶慎。惟有司之牧夫是訓。14.用達庶獄庶慎。文王罔敢知于茲。15.亦越武王率惟數功。不敢替厥義德。率惟謀。從容德。以竝受此丕丕基。16.嗚呼孺子王矣。繼自今我其立政立事。準人牧夫。我其克灼知厥若。丕乃俾亂[爵司]。相我受民。和我庶獄庶慎。時則勿有閒之。17.自一詰一言。我則末惟成德之彥。以乂我受民。18.嗚呼。予旦已受人之徵言。咸告孺子王矣。繼自今文子文孫。其勿誤于庶獄庶慎。惟正是乂之。19.自古商人亦越我周文

**Li cheng.**

1. Chou Kung spoke thus: Saluting and bowing down the head I report to the succeeding Son of Heaven and king. Now he admonished the king about all and said: (Those in the left and right of =) the nearest assistants of the king are the permanent leader, the permanent (man in charge =) manager, the man of law, the stitcher of garments and the (chief of the) tiger braves. Chou Kung (further) said: Oh, in the grace (sc. of Heaven), those who understand how to be solicitous are few. — 2. Among the ancient men who (»walked it« =) pursued the (proper) course was the lord of Hia. The (possessors of houses =) feudal lords were very strong, and they called prominent men to honour God on High, (those who) pursued the (proper) course and were sage and sincere in the practice of the nine virtues. Then they (the lords) would presume to inform and (instruct =) advise their sovereign, saying: we salute and bow down the head to our sovereign; we say: put in the (high) position your (man of) affairs (= the permanent manager above), put in the (high) position your pastor (= permanent leader above), put in the (high) position your (man) of law. Thus you will be a (true) sovereign; endeavour and strive to use those of a greatly docile virtue, those are the men to be put in the (high) positions; thus, in the three (high) positions, will there not be righteous men? — 3. Kie's (virtue =) character was (such) that he did not make the appointments of bygone times; (that was =) he had a violent character, and he had no (afterwards =) future (sc. for his house). — 4. And now Ch'eng T'ang, when he arose and grandly (regulated =) administered the brilliant mandate of God on High, he employed three holders of (high) positions who could achieve (the task of) their positions; called the three holders of talents, they could achieve their talents. In a strict way he was grandly able to use the three (men in the) positions, the three (men of) talents. Those who were in the city of Shang were thus concordant in their city, those who were in the four quarters thus grandly saw his virtue. — 5. Oh, (when it rested with Shou =) when the turn came to Shou, his character was impetuous; (shamed =) disgraced (punished ones =) criminals and men of a violent character were his associates in his state; a crowd of familiars (favourites) and men of a licentious character were his associates in his government. God (killingly punished =) punished him by death. And so it caused us to possess the Hia (realm) (i. e. the Chinese-speaking lands), and (use =) hold the mandate which the Shang had received, and extensively cultivate the (myriad families =) people. — 6. When it came to Wen Wang and Wu Wang, they were able to know the hearts of the three holders of (high) positions, they (brightly =) clearly saw the hearts of the three holders of talents, and thus they reverently served God on High, and established governors for the people. — 7. In the established government, the (man in charge =) manager, the man of law and the pastor were the three executives. — 8. The (chief of) the tiger braves, the stitcher of garments, the equerry were minor functionaries. The carriers and attendants of left and right were (hundred =) many officers.

— 9. The various repository keepers, the captains of the great cities, and the accomplished (ministers =) directors of decorum were many officers. The grand scribe and the chiefs of the secretaries were several permanent auspicious (i. e. fit for taking oracle) officers. — 10. (After) the director of the multitude, the director of the horse and the director of works there were next-following officers. — 11. For the Yi-barbarians of Wei, Lu and Cheng, for the three Po and the (slopes =) hill regions there were governors. — 12. Wen Wang with his (measuring =) comprehending of the hearts, could nominate these (officials, the) permanent manager and the pastor in office, thereby he could make great those who had virtue. — 13. Wen Wang was never displeased with the many speeches (sc. addressed to him, he did not retaliate), the many legal prosecutions and the many prohibitions, the pastor in office gave instructions about them. — 14. Thus he kept aloof from the many prosecutions and the many prohibitions, Wen Wang dared not take any cognizance of them. — 15. And Wu Wang, he followed and achieved the work, he dared not discard his (Wen Wang's) righteous virtue, he followed it and deliberated, he followed his magnanimous virtue, and so they together received this very great foundation. — 16. Oh, young son and king! From this time forth, when we establish the government and nominate the manager, the law man and the pastor, we should be able (brightly =) clearly to know the suitable ones and then grandly let them govern, aid the people which we have received, peacefully adjust our prosecutions and prohibitions. Then let there be nobody who supersedes them. — 17. From (one word uttered =) the first word and the first speech, right to the end we shall think of fine (men) of a perfected virtue, in order to govern the people which we have received. — 18. Oh, I, Tan, the fine words I have received from others, all I report to you, young son and king. From this time forth, may you, accomplished son (of Wu) and accomplished grandson (of Wen) not err in regard to the many legal prosecutions and the many prohibitions; may the officers regulate them. — 19. From of old, the Shang men and our Wen Wang of Chou, when they established a government, when they nominated a manager, a pastor and a man of law, they could put them in the (high) positions, and they could (continue them =) let them continue. Thus they caused them to govern. — 20. As to the empire, it has never occurred that in establishing a government one has employed ingratiating (insincere) men. Those who were not docile in their virtue, those were not illustrious (sc. through high office) in their generation. From this time forth, in establishing the government may you not use ingratiating (insincere) men. May there be good men; use them and stimulate them to assist (in the government of) our state. — 21. Now, accomplished son (of Wu), accomplished grandson (of Wen), young son and king, may you not err in regard to the many (legal) prosecutions, (for those) there is the pastor in office. — 22. May you be able to (inquire about =) examine your weapons, and thus step up in the footsteps of Yü, and everywhere travel in the world, as far as to the extreme points of the seas, there being (nothing which =) no place that does not

王立政立事牧夫準人。則克宅之。克(由繹)猶繹之。茲乃俾乂。20.國則罔有立政用。愴人不訓于德。是罔顯在厥世。繼自今立政。其勿以愴人。其惟吉士。用勤相我國家。21.今文子文孫孺子王矣。其勿誤于庶獄。惟有司之牧夫。22.其克詰爾戎兵。以防禹之迹。方行天下。至于海表。罔有不服以觀文王之耿光。以揚武王之大烈。23.嗚呼。繼自今後王立政。其惟克用常人。24.周公若曰。太史司寇蘇公式。敬爾由獄以長我王國。茲式有憲。以列用中罰。

顧命。1.惟四月哉生魄。王不懼。2.甲子。王乃洮瀨水相被冕服憑玉几。3.乃同召太保奭芮伯彤伯畢公衛侯毛公師氏虎臣百尹御事。4.王曰。嗚呼。疾大漸。惟幾。病日臻。既彌留。恐不獲誓言嗣。茲予密訓命汝。5.昔君文王武王宣重光奠麗。陳教則肄。肄不達。用克達殷集大命。6.在後之嗣(敬迓, em.)敬御。天威。嗣守文武大訓。無敢昏逾。7.今天降疾殆。弗興弗悟。爾尚明時朕言。用敬保元子釗。弘濟于艱難。8.柔遠能邇。安勸小大庶邦。9.思夫人自亂[嗣司]于威儀。爾無以釗冒貢于非幾。10.茲既受命還出綴衣于庭。越翼日乙丑王崩。11.太保命仲桓南宮毛俾爰[援]。齊侯呂伋以二干戈虎賁百人逆子釗於南門之外。延入翼室恤宅宗。12.丁卯命作冊度。13.越七日癸酉伯相命士須材。14.狄設黼辰綴衣。15.牖間南嚮敷重筵席黼純華玉仍几。16.西序東嚮敷重底[砥]席綴純文貝仍几。17.東序西嚮敷重疊席畫純雕玉仍几。18.西夾南嚮敷重筭席玄紛純漆仍几。19.越玉五重陳寶。赤刀(大訓, em.)大介。弘璧琬琰在西序。大玉夷玉(天球, em.)大球。河圖在東序。胤之舞衣大目鼓鼓在西房。兑之戈和之弓垂之竹矢在東房。大輶在賓階面。綴輶在阼階面。先輶在左塾之前。次輶在右塾之前。21.二人雀弁執惠。立于畢門之內。四人綦弁執戈上刃夾兩階。一人冕執劉立于東堂。一人冕執鉞立于西堂。一人冕執戣立于東垂。一人冕執璽立于西垂。一人冕執鉞立于側階。22.王麻冕黼裳由賓階隣。卿士邦君麻冕蟻裳入卽位。23.太保太史大宗皆麻冕彤裳。太保承介圭。上宗(奉同瑁, em.)奉笄瓊。由阼階隣。太史秉書由賓階隣。御王冊命。24.曰。皇后憑玉几道尊揚。

submit as a dependency, so that you display Wen Wang's bright virtue and extol Wu Wang's brilliant deeds. — 23. Oh, from this time forth, when the posterior kings establish their government, may they be able to use permanent men (in office). — 24. Chou Kung spoke thus: Oh, grand scribe (sc.: take down this:), the minister of crime, the prince of Su, was a model; be careful about the prosecutions which you (follow =) attend to, thereby perpetuating our kingdom; him you should take as model and have care. According to degrees (of crime) apply just punishments.

**Ku ming.**

1. In the 4th month, on the 2nd (or: 3rd) day, the king was not happy (i. e. ill). — 2. On the day *kia-tsi*, the king (poured the face-washing water =) poured water over his face, the assistants put on him the cap and the robe, and he leaned on a jade stool. — 3. He called together the grand guardian Shi, the prince of Juei, the prince of T'ung, the prince of Pi, the prince of Wei, the prince of Mao, the instructor, the chief of the tiger (braves), the (hundred =) various governors and managers of affairs. — 4. The king said: »Oh, the sickness greatly advances, there is imminent (risk). An extreme illness (i. e. a crisis) is daily approaching; it (the sickness) has tarried (extensively =) long. I fear that I shall not be able to make a solemn declaration about the subsequent (matters). Now I minutely instruct and order you. — 5. The former rulers Wen Wang and Wu Wang displayed (their repeated brightness =) their brightness one after the other and set forth their refinement. In spreading their instructions they toiled, but in toiling they did not go too far. Thus they could reach to Yin and achieve the great mandate. — 6. (I), the succeeding stupid one, have respectfully (conducted =) applied Heaven's majesty, and continued to (keep =) adhere to Wen's and Wu's great instructions, and not dared (darkened =) foolishly to transgress them. — 7. Now Heaven has sent down a sickness that is fatal, I cannot rise, I cannot (wake up =) get my mind clear. May you clearly understand these words of mine, and thus carefully guard my eldest son Chao, and grandly help him over in the difficulties. — 8. Be gentle with the distant ones, be kind to the near ones. Tranquillize and stimulate all the small and great states. — 9. You should think of how a man governs himself in dignity. You should not, because Chao is covetous, make him presents in (what is not the proper quantities =) improper quantities. — 10. Now, when they had received the (king's) order, they returned. One brought the stitched garments into the courtyard. The next day, a *yichou* day, the king died. — 11. The grand guardian gave order to Chung Huan and Nan-kung Mao and made them assist him. The prince of Ts'i, Lü Ki, with two (men with) shield and dagger-axes (i. e. two squires) and tiger braves one hundred men, went to meet the son Chao outside the south gate, and invited him to enter the Bright Room and carefully attend to those who sojourn in the clan temple (i. e. the Spirits). — 12. On the day *tingmao* order was given to make a document about the measures (sc. prescribed by the dead king). — 13. On the 7th day, a *kuiei-yu* day, the leader-premier

ordered the officers to (make necessary =) exact the materials (sc. for the burial). — 14. Servants displayed the screen (ornamented) with axes and the stitched garments (of the king). — 15. Between the windows, facing the south, they spread out double bamboo-strip mats with black-and-white silk borders, and the traditional stool with varicoloured jades. — 16. In the space along the western wall, facing the east, they spread out double smooth (rush) mats with stitched borders, and a traditional stool with striped cowries. — 17. In the space along the eastern wall, facing west, they spread out double sumptuous mats with painted borders, and a traditional stool with carved jades. — 18. In the western side-room, facing the south, they spread out double young-bamboo mats with dark, ample borders and a traditional stool with lacquer. — 19. (There were) quintuple jades and old treasures. The red (sacrificial jade) knife, the large grand (*k u e i tessera*), the great (jade) *p i* disk, the rounded-top (*k u e i tessera*) and the pointed-top (*k u e i tessera*) were in the space along the western wall, the great jade, the jade of the *Yi* tribes, the great *k ' i u*-jade and the drawing-tablet of the River were in the space along the east wall, the dancing garments of *Yin*, the great shell and the big drum were in the western room, the dagger-axe of *Tuei*, the bow of *Ho*, the bamboo arrows of *Ch'uei* were in the eastern room. — 20. The grand chariot was in front of the guests' staircase, the adjunct chariot was in front of the eastern staircase, the foremost chariot was before the left gate-room, the next-following chariot was before the right gate-room. — 21. Two men with sparrow-caps holding *h u e i*-lances stood inside the Last gate (farthest from the south). Four men with black-mottled caps, holding dagger-axes with the edge upwards, stood on both sides of the staircases and the corners of the (raised) hall-platform. One man, with state cap, holding a *l i u* axe, stood in the eastern part of the (open) hall, one man, with state cap, holding a *y ü e* axe, stood in the western part of the hall, one man, with state cap, holding a *k ' u e i* lance, stood at the eastern extreme end of the hall, one man with state cap, holding a *k ' ü* lance, stood at the western extreme end of the hall, one man, with state cap, holding a *t u e i* lance, stood at the side staircase (i. e. north from the hall). — 22. The king had hempen state cap and skirt with black-and-white (axe-shaped) ornaments and ascended by the guests' staircase, the ministers and feudatory rulers had hempen state caps and ant(-coloured) skirts, they entered and went to their positions. — 23. The grand guardian, the grand scribe and the grand master of rites all had hempen state caps and red skirts. The grand guardian held the grand *k u e i*-tessera, the high master of rites held a *k i a*-vessel and *t s a n* libation ladle; they ascended by the eastern staircase. The grand scribe held the document and ascended by the guests' staircase. He presented to the king the written-down charge (sc. last order of the dead king). — 24. He said: The august sovereign (sc. the dead king), leaning on the jade stool, brought forward and manifested his last (order =) will. He ordered you (to continue =) to follow up the instructions, to look down upon and govern the state of *Chou*, to follow the great laws, to make the whole world harmonious and concordant,

末命。命汝嗣訓。臨君周邦。率循大下。燮和天下。用答揚文武之光訓。25.王再拜。興答曰。眇眇予末小子。其能而亂。[嗣]四方。以敬忌。天威。26.乃受(同堦, em.)。單王贊。王三宿[繙]三祭(三咤)三宅。上宗曰饗。27.太保受同, em.)受單。降盥。以(異同, em.)異單秉璋。以酢。授宗人(同, em.)單拜。王答拜。28.太保(受同, em.)受單。祭。濟宅。授宗人(同, em.)單拜。王答拜。29.太保降。收諸侯出廟門俟。

顧命續。30.王出在應門之內。太保率西方諸侯入應門左。畢公率東方諸侯入應門右。(皆布乘)皆黼芾黃朱。賓稱奉圭兼幣曰。一二臣衛敢執壤奠。皆再拜稽首。王義嗣(德答, em.)植[特]答拜。31.太保贊芮伯咸進相揖。皆再拜稽首曰。敢敬告天子。皇天改大邦殷之命。惟周文武誕(受羑若, em.)受厥若。克恤西土。32.惟新陟王畢協賞罰。戡定厥功。用敷遺後人休。今王敬之哉。張皇六師。無壞我高祖真命。33.王若曰。庶邦侯甸男衛。惟予一人剗報誥。34.昔君文武丕平。富不務[致]咎。底至齊信。用昭明于天下。則亦有熊羆之士不二心之臣。保乂王家。用端命于上帝。皇天用訓厥道。付畀四方。35.乃命達侯樹屏。在我後之人。今予一二伯父尚胥暨顧。綏爾先公之臣服于先王。雖爾身在外。乃心罔不在王室。用奉恤厥若。無遺鞠子羞。36.羣公既皆聽命。相揖趨出。王釋冕。反喪服。

呂刑。1.惟呂命。王享國百年。耄荒度作刑。以詰四方。2.王曰。若古有訓。豈尤惟始作亂。延及于平民。罔不寇賊鴻義[儀]姦宄。奪攘矯虔。3.苗民(弗用靈)不用練。制以刑。惟作五虐之刑。曰法。殺戮無辜。爰始注為劓(刑, em.)刑。椓黥。越茲麗刑并制。罔差有辭。4.民興胥漸。泯泯棼棼。罔中于信。以覆詛盟。虐威庶戮。方告無辜于上。上帝監民。罔有罄香億。刑發聞惟腥。5.皇帝哀矜庶戮之不辜。報虐以威。曷絕苗民。無世在下。6.乃命重黎絕地天通。罔有降格。(羣后, em.)君后之逮在下。明明棐常。鰥寡無蓋。7.皇帝清問下民。鰥寡有辭于苗。德威惟畏。億明惟明。8.乃命三后恤功于民。伯夷降典。折[制]民惟刑。禹平水土。主名山川。稷降播種。農殖嘉穀。三后成功。惟殷于民。9.(士制)爰制百姓于刑(之中)

and thus respond to and extol Wen's and Wu's brilliant instructions. — 25. The king bowed down twice, rose and answered saying: Very insignificant am I, the (last small child =) small child, last of our line. How can I govern the (regions of) the four quarters, and thus reverently stand in awe of Heaven's majesty? — 26. Then he received the *k i a*-vessel and the libation ladle. The king thrice strained the wine, thrice sacrificed and thrice he (took his position =) returned to his place. The high master of rites said: It has been enjoyed (by the Spirits). — 27. The grand guardian received the *k i a*-vessel, descended, washed the hands, took another *k i a*-vessel, grasped the libation ladle with *ch a n g*-tessera handle and with it made the matching libation. He handed the *k i a*-vessel to the assistant master of rites and saluted. The king in response saluted. — 28. The grand guardian received the *k i a*-vessel, made libation, carried the vessel to his lips and (took his position =) returned to his place. He handed the *k i a*-vessel to the assistant master of rites and saluted. The king in response saluted. — 29. The grand guardian descended. They (gathered in =) removed (the utensils). The princes went out through the temple gate and waited. — 30. The king came out and was inside the principal gate. The grand guardian led the princes of the western regions to enter (and stand) to the left of the principal gate, the prince of Pi led the princes of the eastern regions to enter (and stand) to the right of the principal gate. They all had black-and-white-figured (robes) and knee-covers which were yellow and red. The guests lifted and presented their *k u e i*-tesserae and at the same time their presents and they said: We, your (one or two =) few servants and guards presume to bring the offerings of our soils. All twice saluted and bowed down the head. The king, as the rightful heir, returned the salute to them one by one. — 31. The grand guardian and the prince of Juei both advanced and bowed to each other. (Then) both twice saluted and bowed down the head and said: We presume respectfully to speak to the Son of Heaven. The august Heaven altered the mandate of the great state Yin. Wen and Wu of Chou grandly received its approval, and were able zealously to attend to the western lands. — 32. The recently (ascended =) deceased king in all cases well adjusted rewards and punishments, he was capable of consolidating his meritorious work, and thus he extensively transmitted blessings to his successor. May the king now be reverently attentive. Display and make august the six armies, do not destroy our high ancestor's (single-standing =) sovereign mandate. — 33. The king spoke thus: You (princes of) the various states, of the *h o u*, *t i e n*, *n a n* and *w e i* zones, I, the One Man, Chao announce and tell you. — 34. The former sovereigns Wen and Wu grandly tranquillized and enriched (the people) and they did not maltreat or incriminate (them); they caused them to come to a (uniform =) universal fidelity, and thus they became illustrious in the world. Then they also had bear(-like) officers, and ministers of no double hearts, who protected and directed the royal house. Thus they began their mandate from God on High. August Heaven therefore announced its way, and gave them the (lands in the) four quarters. — 35. Then they appointed and set up princes

and (thereby) erected protecting walls, with a view to us, their successors. Now you, my several uncles, may you together consider, and appease those your former princes who served the former kings (sc. by being loyal as they). Though your bodies are outside (i. e. away from the capital), may your hearts always be in the royal house. Thus in your service zealously attend to what is suitable, and do not bring shame to me, the infant. — 36. All the princes, having heard the charge, saluted each other and hastily went out. The king took off his cap and assumed again the mourning garments.

**Lü hing.**

1. When (the prince of) Lü received his charge, the king had enjoyed the state a hundred years, and he was very old and senile, but he (still) planned to make (punishments =) penal laws, in order to control the (people of) the four quarters. — 2. The king said: (Anciently =) from ancient times we have the teaching that Ch'i Yu was the first to make rebellion. It extended to the peaceful people, there were none who were not robbers and bandits, owl-behaviour (i. e. rapacious), villains and traitors, snatchers and plunderers, forgers and killers. — 3. The Miao people did not (use =) apply an improving training, they restrained by means of punishments, they created the five oppressive punishments, and called this the law. They killed the innocent, and so they started excessively to practise the cutting-off of the nose, the cutting-off of the legs, castration, black-branding; all these who were (attached to, allotted to =) assigned for punishments, all alike were (restrained =) chastised. They made no distinctions between those who (had indictments =) were indicted. — 4. The people started to (imbue =) affect each other, they were confused and disorderly, they had no (interior =) inner feelings in their good faith, and therefore they (overthrew =) violated their oaths and covenants. All those punished with a tyrannical severity everywhere declared their innocence to (God on) High. God on High surveyed the people; there was no fragrant virtue, the smell sent out by the punishments was rank. — 5. The august sovereign felt grief and pity for the innocence of the punished ones, he requited (those who) tyrannized with their severity, he stopped and (cut off =) exterminated the Miao people, and there were no (generations below =) descendants of them. — 6. The charge was given to Ch'ung and Li to break the communication between earth and heaven so that there was no descending or ascending (i. e. no Spirits coming down, no men rising to divine powers, the spells worked by Miao failing). When the sovereign ruler reached to those (below =) in low positions, he clearly elucidated the irregular practices (sc. punishments); and (even) widowers and widows were not (covered up =) prevented from speaking. — 7. The august sovereign clearly inquired from the lower people, and widowers and widows made their indictments against Miao. His virtuous severity overawed them, his virtuous enlightenment enlightened them. — 8. Then he gave charge to three princes, to be zealous about doing meritorious work for the people. Po Yi sent down the regu-

之衷。以教祗德。10. 穆穆在上。明明在下。灼于四方。罔不惟德之勤。故乃明于刑之中。11. 率义于民。棐彝。典狱非訖于威。惟訖于富[福]。敬忌。罔有擇[數]言在身。惟克天德。自作元命。配享在下。12. 王曰。嗟。四方司政。典狱非爾。惟作天牧。今爾何監。非時伯夷播刑之迪。其今爾何懲。惟時苗民匪察于獄之麗。罔擇告人觀于五刑之中。惟時庶威尊貨斷制五刑。以亂無辜。上帝不蠲。降咎于苗。苗民無辭于罰。乃絕厥世。13. 王曰。嗚呼。念之哉。伯父伯兄仲叔季弟幼子童孫。皆聽朕言。庶有格命。今爾罔不由慰。日勤。爾罔或戒不勤。天齊于民。〔俾我〕假我一日。非終惟終在人。爾尚敬逆天命。以奉我一人。雖畏勿畏。雖休勿休。惟敬五刑。以成三德。一人有慶。兆民賴之。其寧惟永。14. 王曰。吁。來有邦有土。告爾(祥刑)訟刑。在今爾安百姓。何擇非人。何敬非刑。何度非及。15. 兩造具備。自聽五辭。五辭簡孚。正于五刑。五刑不簡。正于五罰。五罰不服。正于五過。16. 五過之疵。惟官惟反。惟內惟貨(惟來)惟求。其罪惟均。其(審克)審核之。17. 五刑之疑有赦。五罰之疑有赦。其(審克)審核之。簡孚有衆。(惟貌)惟繩。有稽。無簡不聽。具嚴天威。18. 墨辟疑赦。其罰百鎰。閱實其罪。劓辟疑赦。其罰惟倍。閱實其罪。剕辟疑赦。其罰倍差。閱實其罪。宮辟疑赦。其罰六百鎰。閱實其罪。大辟疑赦。其罰千鎰。閱實其罪。墨罰之屬千。劓罰之屬千。剕罰之屬五百。宮罰之屬三百。大辟之罰其屬二百。五刑之屬三千。上下比罪。無僭亂辭。勿用不行。惟察惟法。其審(克)核之。19. 上刑適輕。下服。下刑適重。上服輕重諸罰有權。刑罰世輕世重。惟齊非齊有倫有要。20. 罰懲非死。人極于病。非寃折獄。惟良折獄。罔非在中。察辭于差。非從惟從。哀敬折獄。明咎刑書。胥占。咸庶中正。其刑其罰其審(克)核之。獄成而孚。輸而孚。其刑上備。有并兩刑。21. 王曰。嗚呼。敬之哉。官伯族姓。朕言多懼。朕敬于刑。有德惟刑。今天相民。作配在下。明清于單辭。民之亂[罰司]罔不中。聽獄之兩辭。無或私家于獄之兩辭。獄貨非寶。惟府辜功。報以庶尤。永畏惟罰。非天不中。惟人在命。天罰不極。庶民罔有令政在于天下。22. 王曰。嗚呼嗣孫。今往何監。非德于民之中。尚明聽之哉。〔折人〕制人。惟刑。無疆之辭。属于五極。咸中有慶。受王嘉師。監于茲(祥刑)訟刑。

lations, for restraining the people there were the (punishments =) penal laws. Yü regulated waters and land, presided over the naming of mountains and rivers. Ts'i sent down and spread the cereals, he cultivated the fine grains. When the three princes had achieved their work, there was amleness for the people. — 9. Then he (trimmed =) trained the gentry (i. e. officials) in the justness of the punishments, thereby teaching respect for virtue. — 10. Very august was he (sc. the king) above, very bright were those below, it illuminated in (all) the (regions of) the four quarters, there were none who were not zealous about virtue, and therefore they were (bright =) enlightened in regard to the (justness =) just application of the punishments. In all they brought order into the irregular practices of the people. — 11. The directors of criminal cases did not end by (applying) severity, they ended by (creating) happiness. Careful and cautious, there were no ruinous words (in =) coming from their persons. They upheld Heaven's virtue, for themselves they created great charges, and as its (Heaven's) counterparts they enjoyed them here below. — 12. The king said: Oh, you managers of government and directors of criminal cases in the four quarters! Is it not you who are Heaven's pastors? Now what should you scrutinize (sc. for imitation)? Is it not that Po Yi's (walk =) conduct in distributing the punishments? Now, what should you make a warning? Is it not those Miao people's making no examinations in regard to those assigned (for punishment) in criminal cases (i. e. simply declaring them all guilty)? They did not select good men, who examined the (justness =) just application of the five punishments. Those many overawing and (goods-snatching =) bribe-taking ones decided and applied the five punishments, and thereby (disturbed =) oppressed the innocent. God on High found this impure, and sent down calamity on the Miao. The Miao people had no (pleading =) excuse for evading punishment and he cut off their (generations =) posterity. — 13. The king said: Oh, ponder it! My uncles, brothers and cousins, young sons and young grandsons, all listen to my words. May it occur that you (all) attain to charges. Now, may there be none of you who do not follow (my) (comforting =) encouragements and be daily zealous, may you not perchance (be on your guard =) be mistrustful and lacking in zeal. Heaven, in arranging for the people, endows us with one day (i. e. a short spell of life); whether one does not live to a (natural) end or whether one lives to a (natural) end depends upon the man himself. May you respectfully meet Heaven's (order =) will, thereby (receiving =) obeying me, the One Man. Even if one intimidates you, do not be intimidated; even if one (considers you fine =) flatters you, do not (be fine =) be flattered. Only attend carefully to the five punishments, thus achieving the three virtues (sc. of a judge; for those, see Hung fan § 16). (I), the One Man, shall enjoy happiness and the million people will receive the advantage of it. The tranquillity will be perpetual. — 14. The king said: Oh, come, possessors of states and possessors of lands. I will tell you about litigations and punishments. Now, when you tranquillize the people, what should you select, if not the (proper) men, what should you carefully attend to, if not the punishments, what should

you plan for, if not the attainment (sc. of the highest standards)? — 15. When both (parties) have appeared fully prepared (sc. with testimonies), the court assessors (listen to =) deal with the five (kinds of) pleading. When by the five (kinds of) pleading one has ascertained and verified (the guilt), one attributes (the case) to (one of) the five punishments; if the five punishments are not (ascertained =) found adequate, one attributes it to one of the five redemption-fines; if the five redemption-fines are not applicable, one attributes it to the five cases of errors. — 16. The shortcomings called the five cases of error are officialism, (opposing =) insubordination, (presenting =) bribery, hoarding and (office-)seeking. These offences are (equal =) on a par. May you investigate it. — 17. In doubtful cases of the five punishments there is condoning; in doubtful cases of the five redemption-fines there is condoning. May you investigate it. You should ascertain and verify and (have the multitude =) act in concert with public opinion; you should (hair-finely =) minutely make investigation. If (the guilt) is not ascertained, you should not (listen to =) deal with (the case). You should all stand in awe of Heaven's majesty. — 18. When the punishment of black-branding is doubtful and remitted, the redemption-fine is 100 h u a n - (or: l ü e -; or: s ü a n -) weights (of bronze); but one examines and verifies the crimes. When the punishment of nose-cutting is doubtful and remitted, the redemption-fine is double (i. e. 200 h u a n); but one examines and verifies the crimes. When the punishment of leg-cutting is doubtful and remitted, the redemption-fine is the (same) double plus the difference (between single and double) (i. e. 300 h u a n); but one examines and verifies the crimes. When the punishment of castration is doubtful and remitted, the redemption-fine is 600 h u a n; but one examines and verifies the crimes. When the great punishment (i. e. death penalty) is doubtful and remitted, the redemption-fine is 1000 h u a n; but one examines and verifies the crimes. The redeemable kinds (of crimes falling) under black-branding are 1000, those under nose-cutting are 1000, those under leg-cutting are 500, those under castration are 300 and those under the great punishment are 200. The kinds (of crimes falling) under the five punishments are 3000. In (upper =) graver and (lower =) lighter cases, you should (with precedents) compare the offences. Do not (have =) admit false and disorderly pleadings. Do not use what is (not current =) obsolete. What you should study is the law. May you investigate it. — 19. In regard to a higher punishment, when (the crime) tends towards the lighter side, it should be downwards applied; in regard to a lower punishment, when (the crime) tends towards the heavier side, it should be upwards applied. For the lighter or heavier redemption-fines there is the balance of circumstances. The punishments and fines are in certain ages light, in certain ages heavy. For adjusting what is not just there are reasons and leading principles. — 20. Through the correcting by fines, there is no death, but people come to the extreme in suffering (i. e. hence you must be careful). It is not the specious who should decide criminal cases, it is the good who should decide them. Everything depends on justness. Examine the pleadings with regard to the divergences, (to

find) which not to follow and which to follow. Compassionately and carefully you should decide the criminal cases. Publicly open the law codex and together look for the answer; all will then, it is to be hoped, be just and correct. In punishing and in fining, may you examine it. When in a criminal case you have achieved your (certainty =) sure result, then (transmit =) commit to writing your sure result; the punishments should be (put up =) recorded and completely indicated. When one has combined (two crimes), he should have two punishments (i. e. they should not be lumped together). — 21. The king said: Oh, be reverently careful about it, you chiefs of officers, you clansmen and you gentry. My speech (has much fear =) is full of apprehension, I am reverently careful about the punishments. The virtuous must think of the punishments. Now, when Heaven would aid the people, it has created a counterpart for itself here below (i. e. me: I am responsible). You should bring clarity into the (single =) one-sided pleadings (i. e. from one of the parties only). In (the) governing (of) the people you should have nothing that is not just, and listen to both pleadings in the criminal cases. Do not perchance privately (make your house-holding on =) profit from the two pleading (parties) in criminal cases. Hoardings from criminal cases are no treasures. You only store up culpable deeds, and you will be requited by much guilt (sc. and punishment). What should be perpetually feared is the punishment (sc. of Heaven). It is not that Heaven is not just; it is man who should (scrutinize =) fully understand its decrees. If Heaven's punishments were not perfect, the common people would not have a good government under Heaven. — 22. The king said: Oh, you inheriting descendants! Henceforth, whom should you scrutinize (sc. for imitation)? Is it not the virtuous ones in the midst of the people? May you (brightly =) enlightenedly listen to it. For restraining the people there are the (punishments =) penal laws. The innumerable (pleadings =) legal cases should be applied to the five proper norms (i. e. the norms for the punishments), and when all is just there will be happiness. You who receive the king's fine multitude should scrutinize these (rules of) litigation and punishments.

**Wen Hou chi ming.**

1. The king spoke thus: Oh (father =) uncle and peacemaker! The greatly illustrious Wen and Wu could be careful to make bright the virtue; brilliantly it rose on high, widely it was renowned (here) below. Then God on High placed his mandate on Wen Wang. Then also the former principal officers could assist and brightly serve their sovereigns. In regard to small and great plans, there were none in which they did not follow them, and so my ancestors were beloved on the throne. — 2. Oh, pitiable am I, the little child; when succeeding (to the throne), I have committed great errors towards Heaven. I have destroyed the resources and the bounties for the lower people. One invades and attacks our state's border. Even among our managers of affairs, none have been capable of becoming (aged =) veterans, and the fault is (on my body =) mine. Being thus myself incapable, I say:

文侯之命。1.王若曰。父義和。丕顯文武克慎明德。昭升于上。敷聞在下。惟時上帝集厥命于文王。亦惟先正克左右昭事厥辟。越小大謀猷罔不率從。肆先祖懷在位。2.嗚呼。閔予小子嗣造天丕愆。殄資澤于下民。侵戎我國家純。卽我御事(罔或)罔克。耆壽(俊在厥服)咎在厥躬。予則罔克曰。惟祖惟父其伊恤朕躬。嗚呼有績。予一人永綏在位。3.父義和。汝克紹乃顯祖。汝肇刑文武。用會紹乃辟。追孝于前文人。汝多修扞我于艱。若汝予嘉。4.王曰。父義和。其歸視爾師。寧爾邦。用資爾秬鬯一卣。彤弓一。彤矢百。盧弓一。盧矢百。馬四匹。父往哉。柔遠能邇。惠康小民。無荒寧。簡恤爾都用成爾顯德。

費誓。1.公曰。嗟人。無譁聽命。徂茲淮夷徐戎立興。2.善敷乃甲胄。敵乃干。無敢不弔。備乃弓矢。鍛乃戈矛。礪乃鋒刃。無敢不善。3.今惟淫舍牿牛馬。杜乃獲。忿乃穿。無敢傷牿。牿之傷。汝則有常刑。4.馬牛其風。臣妾遁逃。勿敢越逐。祇復之。我商[賚]賚汝。乃越逐不復。汝則有常刑。無敢寇攘。踰垣牆。竊馬牛。誘臣妾。汝則有常刑。5.甲戌我惟征徐戎。峙乃糗糧。無敢不逮。汝則有大刑。魯人三郊三遂。峙乃楨榦。甲戌我惟築。無敢不供。汝則有(無餘刑, em.)無舍刑。非殺。魯人三郊三遂。峙乃芻茭。無敢不多。汝則有大刑。

秦誓。1.公曰。嗟我士。聽無譁。予誓告汝。聾言之首。2.古人有言曰。民訖自若。是多盤。責人斯無難。惟受責。俾如流。是惟艱哉。3.我心之憂。日月逾邁。若弗(云來)員來。4.惟古之謀人則曰未就予忌。惟今之謀人姑將以為親。雖則云然。尚猷詢茲黃髮。則罔所愆。5.番番[白皤]良士。旅力旣愆。我尚有之。仡仡勇夫。射御不違。我尚不欲。惟(截截善諭言)俾君子易辭。譏諭善諭言使君子易怠。我(皇)兄[况]多有之。6.昧昧我思之。(如有一介臣)若有一个臣。斷斷猗無他技。其心休休焉。(其如)其能有容。人之有技。若己有之。人之彥聖其心。好之。不啻如自其口出。(是能)寔能容之。以保我子孫。黎民亦職有利哉。7.人之有技。(冒疾)媚疾。以惡之人。之彥聖而違之。俾不違。是[是]不能容。以不能保我子孫。黎民亦曰殆哉。8.邦之杌隍曰由一人。邦之榮懷亦尚一人之慶。

grand-uncles and uncles, may you anxiously think of my person. Oh, if you have achievements, I, the One Man, will forever be tranquil in my high position. — 3. (Father =) uncle and peacemaker! You are able to continue after your illustrious ancestors. You should diligently imitate Wen and Wu and thus join in and continue (the work of) your sovereign, and (going backwards, retrospective-ly =) mindful of the past show filial piety for the former accomplished men (your ancestors). You have (largely =) on many occasions well attended to defending me in my difficulties. One like you I find excellent. — 4. The king said: (Father =) uncle and peacemaker! You shall return and look to your multitude, and give peace to your state. I consequently reward you with one *y u* -vessel of aromatic wine made of black millet, one red bow and one hundred red arrows, one black bow and one hundred black arrows, and a four-team of horses. Go, my uncle. Be gentle with the distant ones, (treat well =) be kind to the near ones. Be kind to and tranquillize the small people, do not be in useless repose. Inspect and zealously attend to your city, and thus achieve your illustrious virtue.

**Pi shi.**

1. The prince said: Oh, you men, do not shout but listen to my command. We march against these *Yi* of the *Huai* (river region) and the *Jung* of *Sü*, who all together have risen. — 2. Select well your buffcoats and helmets, string your shields. Do not dare not be good. Prepare your bows and arrows, hammer your dagger-axes and *m a o* -lances, sharpen your pointed and edged (weapons), do not dare not be good. — 3. Now they will largely let loose hobbled oxen and horses. Shut up your traps, fill in your pitfalls, do not dare hurt the hobbled ones; in case of hurt to the hobbled ones, you will have the regular punishments. — 4. When horses or oxen run about in heat, or when slaves and slave women abscond, do not dare go away (sc. from the camp) and pursue them; but if you (catch them and) respectfully return them, I will reward you. If you go away (from the camp) and pursue them or if you (catch them but) do not return them, you will have the regular punishments. Do not dare rob or steal, go over walls and steal horses or oxen, to decoy away slave or slave women; (if you do) you will have the regular punishments. — 5. On the day *k i a - s ü*, we will march against the *Jung* of *Sü*. Procure your dry provisions, do not dare (not reach =) fall short, (if you do) you will have the great punishment (i. e. death). You men of *Lu*, of the three suburban districts and the three outer districts, procure your principal posts and your side-stakes (sc. for the framework in building earthen walls). On the day *k i a - s ü* we shall build walls, do not dare not furnish them. (If you do) you will have the punishments not liable of condonement, yet not the death penalty. You men of *Lu*, of the three suburban districts and the three outer districts, procure your forage, do not dare not have plenty, (if you do) you will have the great punishment (i. e. death).

Ts'in shi.

1. The prince said: Oh, my officers, listen and do not shout, I solemnly declare and tell you the foremost of all sayings. — 2. The ancient men had a saying: people only (follow themselves =) follow their own wishes, and that is (to them) much joy. To reprove others, that has no difficulty, but to receive reproof and (cause =) allow it to be like a (free) flow, that is difficult. — 3. My heart's sorrow is that the days and months pass on, it is as if they would not (return =) recur (i. e. my life draws to an end). — 4. As to my former counsellors, I (said =) considered that they did not accomodate themselves to me; my present counsellors, at first I accepted them and considered them affectionate. But although this was so, may I (now) consult these (men with) (yellow =) fading hair (i. e. old ones), thus I shall have no errors. — 5. Those white(-haired) good officers, whose strength is failing, I rather will have them. Those vigorous brave men, who in shooting and chariot-eering make no faults, I rather will not have them. The (shallow =) insincere ones, who are good at smooth speeches and who cause the ruler to be easy and idle, should I moreover have many of them? — 6. Very (obscured =) bewildered I ponder it. If I could have one single servant, a resolute one, and if he has no other abilities but his heart is very fine, then he can have (indulgence =) generosity. When other men have abilities, it will be as if he himself had them, when other men are fine and sage, his heart will love it, it will not be only as it comes out of his mouth. He truly is able to be (indulgent =) generous. And so he will safeguard my sons and grandsons; may the numerous people only have benefit. — 7. When other men have abilities, if he is jealous and resentful and hates them, and when other men are fine and sage, if he opposes them and causes them not to come forward, then truly he cannot be generous. He thus cannot safeguard my sons and grandsons, and the numerous people will also be endangered. The state's peril comes from the One Man (sc. the sovereign who chooses well his ministers); the state's prosperity and (cherishing =) devotion (still =) likewise is the One Man's (felicity=) success.



# THE KARASUK CULTURE AND ITS SOUTH-EASTERN AFFINITIES

BY

*KARL JETTMAR*

In 1945, Karlgren established that some types of weapons and tools from An-yang, dating back to the Yin Dynasty, re-appear in Suei-yüan and Siberia.<sup>1)</sup> The similarities are so frequent and so striking that a connection between them cannot be denied. If a series of important metal types are related, then the bearers of these objects must also be in some way historically connected. The only question is: what kind of relation existed between »Yin-time China and the Nomad culture of Suei-yüan and Siberia«?<sup>2)</sup>

We must remember, moreover, that Siberia<sup>3)</sup> and Suei-yüan differ from one another to such a degree<sup>4)</sup> that the existence of affinities between these regions seems to be a problem in itself. Presuming that there could not be any relation between South Siberia and An-yang without contact with the regions of the Great Wall — which lies just in the middle — we are confronted with two special problems:

1. What are the relations between the high-culture of An-yang and the northern confines of China?
2. What are the relations between these »Nomads« of the northern confines of China and the inhabitants of South Siberia?

Karlgren thinks it is possible to establish a typological and chronological series originating in An-yang, passing on to Suei-yüan and then to the Minusinsk region. Certain types entered even into the Pontic Scythian culture.

By means of this typological series Karlgren concludes that China was the stronger partner, that the general »cultural current« flowed towards the North and Northwest and that the objects in the Ordos region and still more so those in Siberia are younger than those in An-yang. Karlgren's wording, however, is very cautious. He says that he only wanted »to show that certain features of the Nomad art can best be explained as being due to an influence from Yin-time China«. But

<sup>1)</sup> BMFEA 17, 1945, pp. 101—144.

<sup>2)</sup> It must be remembered that it is an open question whether there already existed »Nomad cultures« in the modern sense.

<sup>3)</sup> In this case Altai and Minusinsk.

<sup>4)</sup> Not only geographically — about 1000 km. of desert and mountains — but also prehistorically and probably in racial respects.

it is impossible to speak of single elements apart from the entire culture (therefore he must deal with the Hien-yün and Hün-yü). Loehr's treatise and Karlgren's answer demonstrate the problem in its whole extension.<sup>1)</sup>

Karlgren's conclusion, however, is in opposition to the old tradition of European scholars who used to look upon the West, and consequently the Nomads of the Northwest, as the giver and upon China as the receiver. Karlgren has amply emphasized their carelessness in presuming what ought to be demonstrated.<sup>2)</sup> Nevertheless, it will still be a long time before these scholars are convinced that the »current of culture» may go in the very opposite direction. This fact has been shown by Loehr's somewhat temperamental answer to Karlgren's interpretation.

But there already exist a number of more modern reports which were not available either to Karlgren or to his opponent.<sup>3)</sup> These treatises deal with the Karasuk culture of Minusinsk, the northern pillar of the far-reaching cultural relations.

I now propose to give a short summary of these publications. Their strongest point is that they add the results of palaeoanthropology to the archaeological material. Of course, in the first place they contribute to the solution of the second partial problem, namely, the relations between Minusinsk and Suei-yüan. (I shall therefore set aside the first one). But they are also essential for the whole problem, as they put a limit to speculation, especially in chronology.

## I. ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIAL.

First we shall look at the treatises published in western languages.

Up to the middle of the twenties Central and North European scholars were leading in the archaeology of South Siberia. Accordingly, the whole world was well informed. Gero von Merhart's book sums up all independent Western research, but unfortunately it also marks the end of it.<sup>4)</sup>

In his publication Merhart already takes into consideration that complex which is to-day called Karasuk, but he is unable to fix any date.<sup>5)</sup>

But soon afterwards the collaboration of the rest of the world came to an end. Subsequently Western research was entirely confined to compilations and information.<sup>6)</sup> Notably two groups of scholars took note of Russian results; on the one

<sup>1)</sup> Loehr 1949 a and 1949 b. Karlgren 1949, p. 23 »Postscript».

<sup>2)</sup> Similar discussions by Andersson 1943, pp. 282—291, and Creel 1937, p. 220.

<sup>3)</sup> Loehr knew of them, but he is unfortunately mistaken in hoping to find a confirmation of his theories there.

<sup>4)</sup> Merhart 1926. Bibliography up to that date.

<sup>5)</sup> Merhart 1926, pp. 37—39. »Kurgane mit Platteneinzelgrab». He is speaking of a special tribe which has no part in the general development. In other words, he anticipates modern results.

<sup>6)</sup> I do not except my own article.

hand Field, Prostov, Golomshtok and others<sup>1)</sup> who wrote in American journals, and on the other hand Tallgren and his collaborators in the ESA.<sup>2)</sup>

It was just at this time that Russian explorers succeeded in attaining decisive results, but as they were principally interested in local development and so-called »stadiality», their conclusions could not settle all questions for us.

A change occurred in the last few years before World War II. Then, at last, the Russian scholars could not help taking migration and diffusion into consideration. During this time, Tallgren's work was already approaching its end; only the American reports continued. But these are mostly lacking in illustration and criticism. Though they are precise in detail<sup>3)</sup>, they do not give a lively, well-rounded picture as do the works of Tallgren. So we are placed in the position of knowing names and sites without being able to operate with them or to form any idea of them. Gaul's treatise is simply the exception to the rule. Unfortunately it is based only upon articles of the »antimigrationistic stage» of Russian research.<sup>4)</sup>

After this short account, we shall now review the history of the exploration of the Karasuk culture as presented in eastern publications.

Teploukhov laid the foundation, distinguished the Karasuk culture from the rest of the finds and marked its place in relative chronology. It ranges between Andronovo and that complex which he called »Minusinsk Kurgan culture». This order has not met with any serious opposition since;<sup>5)</sup> it is, moreover, supported by numerous transitional forms, at the beginning and at the end.<sup>6)</sup> Teploukhov accordingly regarded it as a part of an inner development, being nevertheless aware of its south-eastern relationship. By comparing especially the forms of knives with the knife-coins of China of Chou time he confirmed the correctness of his relatively late dating(10th—8th c. B. C.)

During the following years, intensive excavations were carried out in the Minusinsk Basin<sup>7)</sup>, and it became known that in the Altai and in certain regions of Kazakhstan similar types were spreading<sup>8)</sup> almost at the same epoch. Griaznov,

<sup>1)</sup> Golomsthok, 1933. H. Field and E. Prostov, treatises in Am. Anthropologist, Am. Journ. of Arch., Am. Review of the Sov. Union, Southwestern Journ. of Anthr. Besides these, American material by Ward 1948. English material is scanty but excellent (Childe, Russians publishing in »Antiquity»).

<sup>2)</sup> Cf. Tallgren 1937 a, 1937 b, 1938. Of the others, in particular Salmony must be mentioned here.

<sup>3)</sup> Sometimes not even that. Cf. Henry Field and Kathleen Price: »Review of Soviet Archaeology 1919—1945 in Historic Perspective» p. 221, where they deal with our subject. But who would guess that »Din-Din» is a mistake for »Din-lin = Ting-ling»? That »In» means »Yin»? Why should we need two authors, when neither of them recognizes well-known Chinese names which have been phonetically translated into Cyrilian letters?

<sup>4)</sup> Gaul 1943. I am indebted to Prof. von Heine-Geldern for this treatise, and also for others which were not accessible in Vienna.

<sup>5)</sup> Tallgren was sceptical, but later on he accepted name and dating. Cf. 1928 and 1938, pp. 121—128.

<sup>6)</sup> Teploukhov 1926, 1927, 1929 a, and 1929 b.

<sup>7)</sup> Kiselev 1949, p. 64. Survey.

<sup>8)</sup> Griaznov 1927, 1930 a, 1930 b, Kartsov 1929, Rykov 1935. Levashova 1939. Survey by Kiselev 1949, pp. 87—92.

a brilliant excavator, consequently spoke of a »Karasuk culture of the Altai». A long series of forms transitional to the groups of western civilization could be established, but burial sites with typical Karasuk inventory were found as far west as Karaganda. Besides this, it was found that various Karasuk objects had spread still farther into the forests of the northwest.

Griaznov likewise tried to solve the problem by typological research<sup>1)</sup>. An analysis of his work shows that in 1941 he still believed in the chronology as well as in the derivations of Teploukhov. In this article he gives still further reasons in support of the assertions of Teploukhov. On the other hand, he is convinced, for example, that no foreign influences can be established in the whole history of socketed celts.

Kiselev followed another path<sup>2)</sup>. He, too, made extensive excavations. He may be called the official successor of Teploukhov. For a long time he made no mention of any foreign influences, but he began to bring a completely new order into the »Kurgan culture». This means a fundamental difference between the conception of Teploukhov and his own, for his basis is not the development of the rite of interment but the typology of tools and weapons. He asserts neither more nor less than that collective tombs and single graves might be coeval. The whole difference lies in the social order<sup>3)</sup>. By his new typology that curious empty interval between the Animal Style elements of Karasuk and those of the »Kurgan II«<sup>4)</sup> is eliminated. This new grouping found its expression also in a new name. Kiselev called the period of Minusinsk Kurgans »Tagar«<sup>5)</sup> (or »Tagarsk«, after Lake Tagar and the isle of the same name). Besides this, he points out that, in the West, Late Andronovo forms with Seima décor continue almost to the beginning of the Scythian time. That shows that the presence of such forms in the Minusinsk Basin does not mean that they were already spreading in Karasuk time. They might have been accepted at the beginning of Tagar time, when the contact with the West was reinforced.

This is of vital importance for deciding the question of how strong the local element in Karasuk was. By this new sequence many of those types which were thought to be local in Karasuk must now be looked upon as having come from the West at a later period.<sup>6)</sup> But if the characteristic features of Karasuk were neither local nor related to the West, where else did they come from? Then it was that Kiselev finally began to take into consideration eastern affinities.

The correctness of Kiselev's opinion has been generally acknowledged in the

<sup>1)</sup> Griaznov 1941. Cf. Engl. résumé pp. 270—271.

<sup>2)</sup> Kiselev 1929 a, 1929 b, 1933 a, 1937 a, 1937 b, 1938, 1949, pp. 62—108.

<sup>3)</sup> E. g. Kiselev 1949, pp. 152—154.

<sup>4)</sup> In Teploukhov's scheme »IV«, reproduced by Golomshtok 1930, p. 320, Salmony 1935, pl. III, Gaul 1943, p. 172, cf. Gaul 1943, pp. 173—174. His deliberations on this point have lost their importance.

<sup>5)</sup> Gaul (1943 p. 166 foot-note) was mistaken in writing about an »(ill-defined) later 'Tagar phase' of the Kara Suk complex«. He had not read Kiselev 1929 a and 1933 a.

<sup>6)</sup> Kiselev 1949, pp. 110—128.

meantime.<sup>1)</sup> It seems justified not only because it simplifies the Tagar complex, but because it is confirmed on two later occasions. Firstly, there was the Chinese exhibition in Moscow in 1940, where the Russian scholars could observe finds from An-yang.<sup>2)</sup> This extended the horizon in an unexpected direction. Secondly, Kiselev undertook an »archaeological journey« to Northern Mongolia sponsored by the Academy of Sciences.<sup>3)</sup> On this occasion he discovered so many identical forms in the museums that he could not but revise the old standpoints.

Post-war excavations in Minusinsk confirmed that animal sculptures already belonged to Karasuk and hinted once more at foreign relations.<sup>4)</sup>

Even now a good deal is not yet clear, but these reports have led up to a new idea, which I should like to present here.

I wish to set aside all regions of obviously secondary character, e. g. the Altai, which do not give us any information about the age, derivation and eastern affinities of the Karasuk complex. Our chief attention will be drawn to the Minusinsk Basin, where we have plenty of well-examined material, and where we find the types so concentrated that it seems to be the very heart of this culture in Siberia.

#### A. Burial Customs.

Dwelling-sites are very rarely found intact, so that the whole work of exploration must begin with the graves. Stray finds have to be classified accordingly. That is why our description starts with the Karasuk cemeteries, of which nearly two dozen are known in the Minusinsk Basin.

Kiselev's survey is based on the following burial sites:<sup>5)</sup>

Askyz, excavated by I. P. Kuznetsov-Krasnoiarskii<sup>6)</sup>

Mochov on the Uibat, excavated 1900 by Levashova

Okunev, excavated 1926 and 1927 by Teplokhov near the Ninia river, excavated 1908(?) by Kuznetsov-Krasnoiarskii

One near the Beia river, excavated 1936 by Kiselev<sup>7)</sup>

Lugavskoie, excavated 1924 by Tugarinov<sup>8)</sup>

Krivinskoie, excavated 1928 by Kiselev<sup>9)</sup>

One near Lake Tagar, excavated 1894 by Adrianov<sup>10)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> Chernetsov, 1947.

<sup>2)</sup> Kiselev 1949, p. 85.

<sup>3)</sup> Kiselev 1947.

<sup>4)</sup> Lipskii 1949.

<sup>5)</sup> Kiselev 1949, pp. 62—67.

<sup>6)</sup> publ. 1889.

<sup>7)</sup> publ. 1937 b.

<sup>8)</sup> publ. by Teplokhov 1927.

<sup>9)</sup> publ. 1929 b.

<sup>10)</sup> publ. 1920, 1924, and OAK for 1894.

There is one cemetery to be added:

Near the town of Abakan, excavated 1946 by Lipskii.<sup>6)</sup>

Gaul has only reported on the finds of Kara-Suk and Bateni, Askyz, Lugavskoie and of the Lake Tagar. He cites a publication by Kiselev<sup>7</sup>), but it is not contained in his material.

One burial site often consists of more than a hundred single graves, but only 290 graves altogether have been analysed in detail. The result, however, is still poorer as most graves were robbed at an early period. We can easily imagine how early robbing started, bearing in mind that there were practically no precious metals in the graves. The robbers were digging for the bronzes. But the inventory of bronze is small enough even in graves that have not been robbed, especially compared with that of the following (Tagar) period. Some centuries later it would not have been worth while digging for these objects. In the Tagar period, moreover, we see that the robbers knew very well where the richly equipped graves of men were situated, and they knew them, too, in Karasuk. We are thus led to believe that contemporaries robbed them. However, it seems rather improbable that all irregularities in the position of the skeletons should have been caused by robbers. Secondary interment is quite possible.<sup>8)</sup> In any case, comparative statistical examinations cannot be made.

The graves of Karasuk are marked by a fence of rectangular slabs placed on the surface of the soil and put into the ground in a vertical position. In the

<sup>1)</sup> publ. by Kiselev 1937 a.

<sup>2)</sup> publ. 1929 b and 1937 a.

<sup>3)</sup> publ. 1902 and 1924 and OAK for 1894.

<sup>4)</sup> publ. 1937 a.

<sup>5)</sup> publ. 1927.

•) publ. 1949.

7) 1937 a

<sup>8)</sup> Kiseley 1949 p. 64

northwest of Minusinsk, however, these stone fences are often erected in a circle, which is reminiscent of older forms from Afanasievo and Andronovo. This might mean that the influence of new elements was stronger in the southeastern region.

Smaller rectangles often occur round a larger one. In the centre of these fences, under a low mound, there lies a generally trapezoid pit clad and roofed with slabs of Devonian sandstone. Sometimes there is no other fence, but even then it is easy enough to recognize the graves. They lie so near to the surface that the plates of the stone cist stand out conspicuously. The skeleton lies extended on its back or slightly turned to the left side, with its head at the broader basis of the trapezoid.

Knowing this for certain, it is possible for us to form some idea of the orientation of the dead, even if we cannot derive anything from the bones themselves. The head is usually directed towards the east or east-northeast. Besides extended skeletons we also find flexed burials, i. e. the known form of the older graves of the same region.

As yet we cannot find anything »revolutionary» in the rite of burial; neither is there anything surprising about the number of persons who were buried in one and the same grave.<sup>1)</sup> Already before that time, single graves were predominant. Only occasionally was a child buried in the same stone chest. Very seldom a man and a woman are buried together. We sometimes find the graves of a male and a female lying symmetrically and surrounded by the same fence.<sup>2)</sup>

In any case we have no reason to think of a change in the social order, e. g. a change from matriarchy to patriarchy, as Russian scholars are inclined to conjecture.

I do not intend to give here more than a short outline, since Merhart, Teploukhov and others<sup>3)</sup> have already sufficiently described the graves. I shall complete the picture on two points only:

Firstly, an approximate inner chronology of the Karasuk cemeteries can be fixed, though we have to consider local differences, e. g., in the north the cultural events often occur somewhat later; but it is certain that Ulus Orak, the »IArki» (near Bateni), and especially Ust IErba are the oldest sites, like Krasnii IAr in the Altai. The latest are Bystraia, Ilinskaia gora and Askys. The rest range between these extremes.<sup>4)</sup>

Secondly, during the latest excavations a very peculiar thing was noted. In four cases, outside of the fence, in the north or at the north-eastern angle, a small pit has been found in the ground. It is laid out with three stone slabs which form an equilateral or isosceles triangle when viewed from above. It measures 12—20 cm. in the length, 12—15 cm. in height, the stones being 2 cm. thick. These stone cases were empty. What were these puzzling chests meant for?

In the course of Kuznetsov-Krasnoiarskii's excavations small cubical holes,

<sup>1)</sup> Nor does distribution of the burial sites differ greatly from that of Andronovo.

<sup>2)</sup> Kiselev 1949, pp. 65—67.

<sup>3)</sup> Merhart 1924 and 1925; Merhart 1926, pp. 37—39.

<sup>4)</sup> Kiselev 1949, pp. 75—86.

each of 50 cm. in length on each side, were found in the ground which did not contain anything but bronzes and pottery.<sup>1)</sup> Kiselev gives us a further hint. He states that the graves of children, which are, moreover, unusually numerous, are mostly situated near the north-eastern angle of the fence. In Tashtyk, a child's grave was found which was curbed in with timbers forming a triangle. A further, ethnological, affinity is reported of some small tribes of the Amur region, who bury miscarriages and afterbirths in small triangular stone cases like these even at the present day.<sup>2)</sup>

The inventory of the graves, which we shall now deal with, can be understood to be as follows: the dead were provided with clothes and food which they would need »on the road». In no case was any equipment for military or civil purposes in the other world given to them. This is proved by one characteristic feature: the few knives found in the graves are not near the dead bodies, but they are all found near the pots and with bones of animals.<sup>3)</sup> They obviously served as »carving-knives», not as weapons. The dead were provided not only with meat, since we found bones of animals, but also with pulpy or liquid food in pots.

#### B. Pottery.

Vessels constitute the most reliable inventory. A grave may often contain a considerable number of them.

It is obvious that the form of the vessels differs completely from the Andronovo types.<sup>4)</sup> (Pl. I; 7—11). The flat bottom has disappeared. All relationship with the culture of the »timber graves» of the Pontus are suddenly severed.

Wherever the typical form of the Karasuk grave is met with, we find vessels with rounded bottoms. Hardly any exceptions have been seen. The shape of the vessels is mostly globular, or, sometimes, irregularly napiform with straight medium-high collar. Sometimes the collar is slightly flaring, as we know it from the Andronovo vessels. Occasionally the vessel widens elliptically at the sides, the bottom is flattened, but there is no edge between side and bottom as in the vessels found in Andronovo. Other vessels are ovaly elongated towards the bottom, recalling the pottery that is usually assigned to »ancient times», that is to say to Afanasievo.

The few exceptions can be reduced to two groups. On the one hand, vessels with flat bottom are found in graves which must be assumed to be the oldest, as is evidenced by the décor and technique as well as by the further inventory of metals and the position of the skeleton. They are most closely related to Andronovo. On the other hand, the flat bottom is known to exist on vessels that are judged to be the latest, next to Tagar (for reasons mentioned above), The

<sup>1)</sup> Cf. Gaul, 1943, p. 164.

<sup>2)</sup> Lipskii 1949, pp. 79—81.

<sup>3)</sup> Griaznov 1941, pp. 237—239.

<sup>4)</sup> Kiselev 1949, pp. 78—82. Illustr. in: Teploukhov 1927, Kiselev 1929 b, Kiselev 1937 a.

Tagar time, indeed, brings a complete revival of the flat-bottomed vessels. Thus the »exceptions» really confirm the observation that the round bottom is a specific feature of Karasuk. But it is confined to the Minusinsk Basin, for the whole region of the Altai keeps its local flat-bottomed pottery besides the metal inventory which indicates Karasuk types. The south-eastern region (Suei-yüan) does not yet show anything similar to this development.

But there is another new feature in Karasuk which we can find also outside the Minusinsk Basin, namely in the contemporaneous Late Andronovo of the West. The collar-base is set off in a very distinct manner, sometimes sharply accentuated by ornaments. This probably means a parallel development in both regions, based on the common tradition.

As to the *ornamentation*, we have, on the one hand, vessels which show cog-like impressions in a comparatively primitive manner. Sometimes the surface seems to have been treated simply with a tuft of grass. One of the usual archaic patterns is the »pine tree» or »herring-bone» design. All these particulars are very well known from the earlier history of the upper Yenisei. We know them especially from the Afanasievo graves. When we discover, moreover, that this kind of ornamentation appears together with finds reminding us of the past in form also, we are tempted to speak directly of an Afanasievo Renaissance in Karasuk.

There are other vessels, besides these, with triangles, rhombi and transverse bands marked by a dentated stamp, proving clearly the continuation of Andronovo features.

Not all designs belonging to the same group are already met with in Andronovo graves of Minusinsk. An entire series of these designs is found exclusively outside this region, in the Late Andronovo of the West,<sup>1)</sup> for example, the distinctly marked collar-base, or even a zigzag line circling the pot in the equatorial height. Sometimes two zigzag lines are arranged one above the other, forming a broad band, and in other cases all these patterns are combined to form an intricate carpet-pattern. Here we see in a characteristic way that we stand at the eastern frontier of this kind of geometrical ornamentation.<sup>2)</sup> Besides pottery, it is also to be found on bronze objects. Geometrical ornamentation seems to be a specific feature of the western group of the Siberian Bronze Age.

There is one point more, really the most elementary one, the *technical* execution of the vessels. Here, the inheritance of the past is not so strong as in the ornamentation. We are rather reminded of the change in the form of pottery.

The method of manufacture is quite a new one: the vessels are hand-made and formed of very gritty clay. The outside is grey-brown, but the inside is dark with a bluish colour. The vessels are decidedly thin-walled, and their quality is superior to all preceding forms. Perhaps the sides were flattened with a hammer. At any rate they were diligently smoothened when still wet. It has repeatedly been

<sup>1)</sup> Griaznov 1927.

<sup>2)</sup> In the Baikal cultures the ornamentation is entirely different.

suggested that the outer layer was a glazing made of some special compound. This would at least explain that some pots show a tendency to exfoliate on the outside.

In his »Mongolian Journey», Kiselev gives a hint that similar pottery can be found in the collections of Northern Mongolia. Nevertheless he explains in his later great treatise that he could not yet speak of any south-eastern affinities.<sup>1)</sup>

As for the technique, there are two exceptional groups. Some vessels with their thick sides remind us of the past, some others found in late graves show some affinity with the Tagar period.

Consequently, we may say that in form and technique we meet characteristics which indicate a breach with the past. What may have been the reason?

It would be tempting to deduce from the return to the round-bottomed vessels a growing mobility of the population, i. e. nomad tendency. We are well aware, on the other hand, that the appearance of flat-bottomed pottery in Andronovo after the pointed pottery of Afanasievo had meant a more settled mode of living (with fixed fire-places?). This is now proved by the discovery of the remains of dwelling-sites belonging to Late Andronovo in the West. At any rate, Kiselev speaks of a fundamental change in the mode of living. In spite of this, we are not allowed to overestimate the force of this argument. But we shall see that it is at least an indication — the first indication of this kind.

Besides this, in one characteristic element of the form, namely in the marked collar-base, and in most of the ornamentation, we see the steadily growing development of the traditional Andronovo style.

The most surprising feature is what I called the »Afanasievo Renaissance». In the Minusinsk Basin the end of Afanasievo is usually dated 1700 B. C. That means that Afanasievo had already passed several centuries before. What are the reasons for this revival?

I should like in this connection to refer to an article by N. M. Komarova.<sup>2)</sup> The author points out that a group of Afanasievo elements can also be isolated in Andronovo. She believes she can thus give them a chronological order. But these elements can be found in the next period as well. Consequently, we have to consider an inner ethnical order. Certain tribes of the Minusinsk region, possibly the descendants of the Afanasievo people, have always kept to these forms of ornamentation, while the immigrated Andronovo groups preferred other designs. Komarova's only argument against this is that the Minusinsk Basin would have been too small for such a subdivision. Surely this is not correct. Probably the Karasuk time witnessed a strengthening of the former population of the region. Or maybe this part of the population had lived outside the Minusinsk Basin in Northern Mongolia, where we also find Afanasievo features, and came back in a larger immigration. But we shall have to deal with this problem later on.

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<sup>1)</sup> Cf. Kiselev 1947, p. 359 and Kiselev 1949, p. 82.

<sup>2)</sup> Komarova 1947, pp. 57—59.

The last excavations after the war the results of which are known to me have made one more interesting contribution to the foreign relations of the pottery at Karasuk time.<sup>1)</sup> In a grave in the immediate vicinity of the town of Abakan a peculiar oval vessel has been found. (Pl. I:12). The diameters of its mouth were 11.5 to 13.4 cm. and the diameters of the bottom 14.8 to 15.5 cm. The points of a wooden fork were stuck in one of the lugs. This vessel is quite unique among the Karasuk finds. Neither in earlier nor in later times can any relation to it be found. But Lipskii states that there are specimens of exactly the same form among the vessels of the Chinese province of Chahar.<sup>2)</sup>

### C. Ornaments.

Besides pottery, ornaments, that is to say all metal objects of clothing, belong to the characteristic inventory of the graves.<sup>3)</sup>

Pediform pendants made of bronze are mostly found in considerable numbers. (Pl. II: 1—4). Twice they were met with in undisturbed graves in such an arrangement that they may be supposed to have been braided into the pigtail, which must have been laid over the breast.

In the west of Minusinsk this shape is very rare. Besides one specimen which is not quite certain, they are known only from the older cemetery of Tomsk. This means, perhaps, one argument more to show that they can be derived from an Andronovo type.<sup>4)</sup> On the other hand, they occur in Tuva. Similar forms are also met with in Northern Mongolia (Kiselev). Whether the pendants of Suei-yüan are akin to them it is not for me to decide.<sup>5)</sup> In his «Mongolian Journey», in which Kiselev publishes a remarkable form from Northern Mongolia (Pl. II:5), he was more convinced than he is later on that there are relations with Suei-yüan.<sup>6)</sup>

Finger rings have been worn on both hands. We know them exclusively from the Minusinsk Basin. They are open or overlapped, with bilobed signet (Pl. II:6—9). They appear not only in graves, but often among the stray finds.

Bracelets are to be met with in three types (Pl. II:13—15) made of spiral wire, or in the form of broad or narrow ribbons. The band-shaped ones are mostly ribbed, the broader specimens are, besides, ornamented with points or rosettes. Their distribution is the same as that of the most specific Karasuk types. They appear in the Altai as well as in the older cemetery of Tomsk.

<sup>1)</sup> Lipskii 1949, p. 78.

<sup>2)</sup> Archaeologia Orientalis A Series vol. IX, pl. XXXIV. (Arch. Orient. is now not available in Vienna. The quotations are therefore only cited from Russian authors.)

<sup>3)</sup> Description following Kiselev 1949, p. 76. List of finds p. 76—78.

<sup>4)</sup> Teploukhov cited by Griaznov 1927, p. 204.

<sup>5)</sup> Andersson 1932, pl. XVIII 9—11. Also Tallgren (1937 a, p. 86) compared these specimens to the Minusinsk pieces. Cf. also Arch. Orient. B Series vol. 1, pl. XV 1—16. Further: Arne 1933, pl. XII 1—14.

<sup>6)</sup> Kiselev 1947, p. 359.

Spirally curved wires are distributed in the same way. They belong to the female temple ornaments and are found in situ.

Small bronze tubes belong to necklaces (Pl. II:16—20), as also do beads. They are very frequently found in the graves. Sometimes they are cylindrical, sometimes conical, smooth or ribbed. We know them already from Andronovo, and they appear still in Tagar time. Accordingly, they are also found in the whole western region of the Andronovo culture.<sup>1)</sup>

Beads show a large variety of forms and are made of all kinds of material. There are cast bronze beads, biconical or barrel-shaped, and others made of flat metal plate. Both forms evidently come from Andronovo and therefore can also be found in the Altai. Massive beads are still to be seen in Tagar time. This is also the case in regard to beads made of mother-of-pearl. Sometimes small beads of lead also occur. Only in one instance was a piece of carnelian found. Cylindrical beads of white paste are extraordinarily wide-spread. Besides the characteristic distribution of Andronovo and Karasuk they are also to be met with in the Glazkovo graves of Cisbaikalia — another indication of the contemporary existence of all these cultures.

As to the numerous forms of ornaments of the Tagar time, imitations of the cowrie shell (*Cyprea moneta*) are already seen in this period, though only in the most recent graves.

The Karasuk people often wear breast ornaments. These consist of a piece of leather over which small leather straps are stretched. These straps are covered with small clasps of ribbed bronze plate (Pl. II:21—24). In one case, 67 of these small clasps were arranged in eight horizontal rows. Another form of this breast ornament is a round copper(?) disk, from which small straps hang down, likewise covered with similar bronze clasps. Generally these tiny objects are most frequently met with among the mortuary gifts of the Karasuk graves. They appear, too, in the Altai. In the East they are found in the coffin graves of Cisbaikalia. There, together with a knife of Karasuk type, they form the basis for chronology.

Round buttons occur in various forms (Pl. II:28—30.). There are large and small ones, smooth forms and others with an elevated rim. Sometimes they are ornamented with drills radiating from the centre. Besides the Altai, they are also very often met with in the North Chinese borderland.<sup>2)</sup> All we know of their purpose is that they constitute a part of neck-ornaments.

Very often ornaments are found consisting of a row of small spheroidal segments. (Pl. II:31). They were fixed by a loop on the back or by small perforations. Some of them are massive, others are of bossed bronze plate. They form a part of the neck ornaments, or they are sewn on the clothes. Besides the typical western distribution (Altai, older cemetery of Tomsk), they are found in

<sup>1)</sup> Griaznov 1927, p. 205.

<sup>2)</sup> Arch. Orient. B Series vol. 1, pl. XVII 10, 19, fig. 36, 37, 52, cf. also Andersson 1932, pl. XVI, Andersson 1943, p. 171 and pl. 159, Arne 1933, pl. VII 1—7, 11, 13—15.

great numbers among the Ordos bronzes.<sup>1)</sup> This is but the most prominent form among the ornaments of apparel which may be of varying shape: hemi-spheroid, ovoid, flat-ovoid, triangular, etc.

From an undisturbed find we know that the small bronze rivets belong to the covering of the feet (Pl. II:25—27). In one grave, rivets and small hollow tubes were found lying at the feet of a skeleton.

This survey of ornaments and metal accessories of clothing presents three groups which might easily be distinguished:

Forms that were already wide-spread in Andronovo and are still sometimes found in the Tagar period. They are met with far to the west beyond the actual Karasuk area.

Secondly, there are types which appear only in Karasuk. Some of them never occur elsewhere than in the Minusinsk region, or possibly in the nearest related regions (Altai and older cemetery of Tomsk).

But there is one more group that has no precedent forms in Andronovo, but which can be met with frequently in Suei-yüan in almost identical forms.

#### D. Weapons and Tools.

The objects we have dealt with so far — ceramics and ornaments — are found mostly in graves and must be regarded as a single group based on common burial customs, which makes dating a relatively easy task. Stray finds are merely of supplementary importance.

When we are dealing with weapons and tools, these burial customs cease to be an aid and become a positive hindrance. The dead are equipped for their journey to the other world only with clothes and are provided with food, exceptionally with knives. We therefore have to look for material elsewhere. We must have recourse to the rich museum collections, of which a part at least must belong to Karasuk. But which part?

Since the considerations which we have to make in separating the Karasuk artifacts from other finds are the same throughout, we shall now mention them before going into detail:

1. The normal method is to date the objects according to the few analogous burial finds.

2. In the following Tagar period, weapons and tools are actually placed in the grave, so that the entire metal inventory is known. Although these grave finds are abundant, there still remain certain bronze types of which we are aware only as stray finds. We may rightly assume that these types belong to Karasuk<sup>2)</sup>, especially if they show a far more systematical structure and characteristic shape than the often inarticulate Tagar types.

<sup>1)</sup> Arch. Orient. B Series pl. XV 22—26, 32—35.

<sup>2)</sup> Andronovo types are known throughout the entire western steppe region. Consequently only Karasuk types remain.

3. There are furthermore «colonies» of Karasuk where tools of Karasuk type were used. But, according to another rite of interment in these stations, the objects are also to be found in the graves. Therefore metal implements of such burial sites probably belong to Karasuk, particularly if we cannot trace their origin elsewhere. The older cemetery of Tomsk is the most outstanding example.<sup>1)</sup>

4. Identical features in décor of metal objects and ceramics or steles may also provide a hint for the dating of the tools.

5. Attempts have been made to classify the transitional forms between Andronovo and Tagar as Karasuk.<sup>2)</sup> However, such an attempt involves a certain danger, for it assumes an uninterrupted development from Andronovo to Tagar forms. We also know that Late Andronovo types (in the west) reached as far as the Tagar time (in the east), that is to say, that Andronovo survived Karasuk.<sup>3)</sup> The forms may also have been mixed on account of their geographical proximity and contact at a later date.

But in cases where several indications point in the same direction we may consider our conclusion as certain — and this we wish to emphasize.<sup>4)</sup>

After enumerating these fundamental principles, we shall now pass on to the material. It is improbable, from what we have said, that there would be burial finds of celts. We know, indeed, of only two specimens. One celt was found in a particularly rich grave on the Beia river.<sup>5)</sup> (Pl. III:1). This one was doubtless an adze. The (rather poor) illustration and the suggestions which Kiselev makes allow us — aided by Griaznov's description<sup>6)</sup> — to compare this object with two pieces reproduced by Tallgren.<sup>7)</sup> The most striking feature is the orifice on the back.<sup>8)</sup> Of this type, only three stray finds are known in the Minusinsk Basin, and two others in the Altai.<sup>9)</sup> Kiselev states that these forms are unknown in the West, but they also appear among the Ordos bronzes, where, he also believes, we should seek the prototype.<sup>10)</sup>

His opinion that this is an eastern type is, he feels, confirmed by the fact that similar but longer celts are sparsely distributed toward the west. (Eight in Minusinsk, one in Tiumen, one in South-Russia).<sup>11)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> Survey in Kiselev 1949, pp. 87—88.

<sup>2)</sup> Griaznov 1941, p. 237.

<sup>3)</sup> At the Late Andronovo site of Alexseievsk there were found «archaic Scythian» arrowheads. Kiselev 1949, p. 57.

<sup>4)</sup> Contra Gaul, who denies these «attributions», e. g. 1943, p. 169 and p. 176. We now have proof in respect of the most important object, namely the animal-head knives, that these attributions are correct.

<sup>5)</sup> Kiselev 1937 b, p. 326, fig. 2.

<sup>6)</sup> Griaznov 1941, p. 260 and pl. IV.

<sup>7)</sup> Tallgren 1917, pl. II 5 a. 6.

<sup>8)</sup> This caused some scholars to think of an implement for leather work.

<sup>9)</sup> If not mentioned, the lists of finds of this chapter are cited according to Kiselev 1949, pp. 68—75.

<sup>10)</sup> Arch. Orient. B Series vol. 1 XXXVI 14.

<sup>11)</sup> Kiselev 1949, p. 70.

Celts without an orifice but provided with a lug on the broad side are to be regarded perhaps as a later variant of the same function. They are more often found in the West. Griaznov believes that they belong to Karasuk, too, but he looks in vain for a local prototype. Thus he involuntarily confirms Kiselev in his foreign derivation.<sup>1)</sup>

The second burial find is a small, unsymmetrical celт (Pl. III:2) which came to light from a very archaic grave in 1946, and which seems to have served also as an adze. But this specimen is not described and only inadequately reproduced, so that I cannot give details at present.<sup>2)</sup>

These adzes cannot have been the only implements of Karasuk. There must have been some form of axe, too. But the graves do not offer any further evidence on this point.

Griaznov tried to regard the Seima types as primary, according to method 5 above. From these he derived the »girdle-celts« bearing two lugs at the side, a form most akin to them. He classified it as Karasuk<sup>3)</sup> (with a hint at method 4).

In opposition to this, Kiselev shows that no Seima celts existed in the Minusinsk Basin in Andronovo time. Wherever similar forms appear, they have been derived from outside at a later date. Following method 3, Kiselev points out that certain types were found at Basaikha and in the older cemetery of Tomsk. He thinks that they belong to Karasuk, forming the beginning of a later series of Tagar celts.<sup>4)</sup> But these are likewise northern or northwestern forms. I do not intend to go into details here, for the material is not reliable enough for cultural comparisons. It would be easy to understand if celts, which are chiefly used for timber work, had been derived from a type properly belonging to the forest region.

On account of the close relationship between the Karasuk and Tagar cultures it would be surprising if the pick, the important weapon of South Siberia in later times, had no forerunner in Karasuk. There are, indeed, some stray finds (two in Minusinsk, but two on the Usa river in the south of the Sayan) the form of which is not known from Tagar kurgans and which may be the original type of a later evolution. Kiselev regards them as Karasuk (according to method 2). Two picks of this type were, moreover, found in the older cemetery of Tomsk (method 3), so that the conclusion might be right.<sup>5)</sup> But where does this pick come from?

Tallgren tried to derive it from the West, since one find is known from the Urals. On the other hand, he kept in mind Chinese relations already in 1915. In this treatise a specimen is illustrated in which the edges taper directly from the socket, so that it resembles far more closely the eastern types.<sup>6)</sup> (Pl. III:3—5).

<sup>1)</sup> Griaznov 1941, pl. I 9.

<sup>2)</sup> Lipskii 1949, p. 77 and fig. 28/1.

<sup>3)</sup> Griaznov 1941, pp. 253—254.

<sup>4)</sup> Kiselev 1949, p. 47. Kiselev 1949, pp. 74—75 Or are the axes represented by Karlgren's class III to be classed here? cf. Karlgren 1945, p. 124.

<sup>5)</sup> Kiselev 1949, p. 74. For one of these specimens see Tallgren 1917, p. 50, fig. 50.

<sup>6)</sup> Tallgren 1916, p. 31. 1915 b, pp. 97—100.

Kiselev attempts to derive the pick from the Chinese Ko, forming a typological series, with a piece from Inner Mongolia as a bridge.<sup>1)</sup> He regards the Ko as the original form. This does not convince us, for it is not probable that the weapon he illustrates (with the »Hu« part) is really as old as he believes.<sup>2)</sup> But we can say that the Siberian form does not differ so strongly from the Ordos specimens as it must have seemed to Karlgren.<sup>3)</sup>

Among the burial finds, square awls often occur. But they are spread too far over Siberia, in both space and time, so that they cannot lead to any conclusions as to their cultural relations.<sup>4)</sup>

As to knives, the situation is quite different. The specimens known from graves have no forerunners in the Andronovo inventories, where only daggers are found.<sup>5)</sup> They do not differ entirely from the Tagar knives, but Tagar types are rather inarticulate. Karasuk knives are more bent and show a more definite structure.

There is a long series of stray finds showing the characteristics of these burial finds. There are further arguments also (i. e. the above-mentioned methods) indicating that these tools belong to Karasuk. Slightly schematising, Kiselev distinguishes three types of this peculiar series.<sup>6)</sup>

The first group contains the angle knives in particular. (Pl. IV:1). Handle and blade form an obtuse angle. They had not been reported from graves until 1946, when a burial find was published, with which we shall deal later on. But in the Minusinsk Basin there are 102 stray finds, to which two from the vicinity of Achinsk and four from the area of Krasnoyarsk may be added. These tools were already compared with the knife money of China by the first scholars who discussed them. Blade and handle are distinctly separate, mostly by some process. Another characteristic feature of these knives is a cap-like hilt-knob, sometimes also an animal head.<sup>7)</sup>

The second group consists of knives with the points curved back. (Pl. IV:2). Often, also, an angle is formed by blade and handle, as above. Karlgren characterizes this form as »S-curved«.<sup>8)</sup>

Four burial finds are known of this type, three of them showing the angle. Besides these, there are 51 stray finds of the Minusinsk Basin. Their further distribution is one at Krasnoyarsk, one on the Tunka, one at Semipalatinsk, four in the Altai, thirteen at Chita. But these knives are also found in Northern Mongolia<sup>9)</sup> and in

<sup>1)</sup> Kiselev 1949, p. 74. O. Janse 1935, pl. V, 13.

<sup>2)</sup> Creel 1937, pp. 144—145.

<sup>3)</sup> Karlgren 1945, p. 127, cf. Loehr 1949 a p. 136, who comes to the same conclusion.

<sup>4)</sup> Kiselev 1949, p. 70.

<sup>5)</sup> cf. Tallgren 1926, p. 209: »Dans les steppes, ce sont les poignards qui ont remplacé les couteaux.«

<sup>6)</sup> Kiselev 1949, p. 70.

<sup>7)</sup> Extreme forms of angle knives see Tallgren 1917, pl. V 9—12.

<sup>8)</sup> Karlgren 1945, p. 128.

<sup>9)</sup> Kiselev 1947, p. 359.

the Ordos region.<sup>1)</sup> Besides, they appear at An-yang.<sup>2)</sup> In all these cases, there is a wide variation in the hilt-knob. Sometimes there are cap-pommels as we find them on the angle-knives, sometimes rings, also one ring after the other, or loops, or merely small holes in the handle. There also occur sculptures, which shall be dealt with later on.

An obviously late sub-group is formed by knives headed by a transverse rectangular plaque («console»).<sup>3)</sup> There is but one dated find from a grave on the boundary between Karasuk and Tagar. We know 21 stray finds from the Minusinsk Basin and there is the usual distribution outside it. Their occurrence in the older cemetery of Tomsk also hints at a somewhat later date.

In the third group we find *inward-curving knives* (Pl. IV:3), blade and handle forming a regular curve, so that the edges lies on the inner side. In function they do not vary much from the first group. The effect is attained by slightly different means. They also resemble the above-mentioned groups in design, showing a process between blade and handle, especially in the build of the handle and its terminal.

Three burial finds confirm the dating.<sup>4)</sup> In the Minusinsk Basin 31 stray finds are known, and once more we find the usual distribution abroad: one in the Altai, one in the older cemetery of Tomsk, one at Ulan Khat, one in the vicinity of Kiakhta, four at Chita. Only ten specimens are reported by Kiselev to have been found in Northern Mongolia.<sup>5)</sup> At An-yang, too, these knives are represented in large numbers and in very characteristic forms.<sup>6)</sup>

Here, too, a sub-group is to be added. There are flat knives showing the transition to Tagarsk forms. They also appear in burial finds from Minusinsk (1), the Altai (1), and the older cemetery of Tomsk. Besides at Minusinsk, stray finds are known from Semipalatinsk. In the East the distribution of this type is very limited. This confirms what was already suggested above: that this type represents a Western variant.<sup>7)</sup>

Hence we may draw the following conclusions:

The knives show a typological relationship and transitional forms.

Direct prototypes cannot be found in the Andronovo complex.<sup>8)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> cf. Karlgren 1945, p. 127 and Nos. 206, 207, 209, 210, also Andersson 1932 3, 4, 7. Arch. Orient. IV/4, 5, 6, V/1, VI/4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 11, IX/8, B ser. vol. I, XLI/4, XLIII/1, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9.

<sup>2)</sup> Karlgren 1945, almost without exception Nos. 146—173.

<sup>3)</sup> Kiselev 1937 a, p. 165; 1949, p. 72.

<sup>4)</sup> Kiselev 1949, p. 72.

<sup>5)</sup> According to Kiselev: Arch. Orient. B ser. vol. I: IV/23, V/4, 6, 7, VI/7, XVI/3, 6—11, XLII/11, XLIII/5, 7, 12, 16; Kiselev 1947 p. 359 fig. 2 g; Andersson 1932 V/1.

<sup>6)</sup> Karlgren 1945, nos. 164—170, 174—179.

<sup>7)</sup> Kiselev 1949, p. 72.

<sup>8)</sup> There would be but one possibility, viz. within that group which is superficially called «sickles»; cf. Kiselev 1949, p. 56, but neither are these forms akin to them.

Specimens that are of a well-defined design seem to be the oldest. At any rate, flatter and more inarticulate pieces belong mostly to later sub-groups. In the Tagar period distinct forms are totally dissolved on the knives (Pl. IV:4—8), whereas a clearly planned design remains on the daggers.<sup>1)</sup> These daggers seem to have been given the representative functions. It thus seems fairly probable that the fully developed form had already been accepted by the Minusinsk region, here forming the primary type.

There is still one peculiarity of these knives to be discussed:

Knives of exactly the same design as that mentioned above sometimes have an animal head terminal. (Not all knives of the Minusinsk Basin published by Karlgren belong to this group. Specimens such as No. 231 are certainly Tagar.) According to this typological characteristic the following knives may be classified here in the first place:<sup>2)</sup> (Pl. V:1—5.)

1. Knife with an elk's head from the village of Mariasovo (Uzhursk area),
2. Knife with a bullock's head from the village of Krasny IAr, near Abakan,
3. Knife with a sheep's head from the village of Bellyk (Irdinsk area),
4. Knife with a ram's head, also from the vicinity of Ulus Krasny IAr, near Abakan,
5. Knife with a sheep's head without any further indication, in the Minusinsk museum,

unfortunately all of them stray finds.

Kiselev says that the small sculptures themselves reveal that they cannot have been made in Tagar time. They show a »fresh naturalism«. Neither the typical fantastic features nor that form of distinct stylization which is so pronounced a feature of the later specimens appear on them. There is no fixed scheme, as is usual in the work of a specialized craftsman. (Such a regular handicraft can be accepted in the case of the Tagar specimens, which bear something like »trademarks«). In Karasuk there is no perforation of the eye or of the nostrils, no clearly defined contours of the ear, nor circular endings. There is not yet any hint of the »animal enroulé«. Other knives showing these primitive-realistic sculptures are of an inarticulate form; they are, therefore, thought to belong to a somewhat later date.<sup>3)</sup> Unfortunately, this conclusion contains a considerable simplification<sup>4)</sup>, but on the whole Kiselev may be right.

One more consideration leads to the classification of the animal head terminal in Karasuk. We have already seen that the Yenisei knives appear as fully developed and show the same variety of forms as is known from the Ordos region. The animal head terminal belongs doubtless to the forms of Ordos knives.<sup>5)</sup> It must be even

<sup>1)</sup> Merhart 1926, Tafel IV, V, VIII render typical Tagar knives.

<sup>2)</sup> Kiselev 1949, pp. 101—107. 1. = Karlgren 1945, nr. 234, 4. = Karlgren 1945, nr. 229 (233), 5. = Karlgren 1945, nr. 237.

<sup>3)</sup> e. g. Karlgren 1945, Nr. 232.

<sup>4)</sup> The Yin-time daggers (Karlgren 1945, Nrs. 182 a. 183 on Pl. V:10) i. e. very ancient forms, are strongly stylized.

<sup>5)</sup> Salmony 1933, pl. XXXVI 3, 4, 5.

very old here, as the animal head knives of An-yang suggest.<sup>1)</sup> If all the forms of Ordos knives appear in the Minusinsk region, why should the animal head terminal not have come with them? Animal heads are, finally, a relatively rare kind of adornment, somewhat accidental within a large group. We have to discuss the whole series of knives.

Fortunately, for some months past we have been in possession of definite and final proof. In 1946 a large angle-knife was found near the town of Abakan in one of the oldest graves containing Andronovo-like pottery belonging doubtlessly to Karasuk. The hilt terminal is formed by a characteristic ram's head.<sup>2)</sup> (Pl. V:7—8.)

Still another form of terminal in »Animal Style« is wide-spread in the Tagar complex. This is the standing animal. Nearly all stray finds<sup>3)</sup> of this kind belong almost certainly to that period. Kiselev, however, states that there has been found during the excavations at Lugavskoie a knife the handle of which was crowned by a standing animal. This should prove that that type also goes back to Karasuk.<sup>4)</sup> But the one reproduction is as miserable as the other, so that no commentary is possible. The fact that it is represented outside Minusinsk at Seima, Turbino and Irkutsk might rather hint at an early beginning of this type. But we shall discuss this question later on. Whether this type is equally old south of the Gobi cannot be decided so long as no data in this respect are recorded.

It would simplify the problem if we knew the purpose of these knives. The lug that is frequently found near the terminal shows that they were worn on a strap. Some of them have certainly served as »carving-knives«.<sup>5)</sup>

We shall now deal with the problem of the daggers — a problem because not a single burial find is in existence. Of course, this is not surprising, for there are no weapons in the Karasuk graves. We have, therefore, to look for other dating arguments.

There is, indeed, a certain group of finds which are not to be found in Tagar graves.<sup>6)</sup> As to the daggers that belong to the regular equipment of warriors, the Tagar graves reveal the entire series of Tagar development, and this affords very convincing evidence. There are, moreover, daggers similar to that found in the older cemetery of Tomsk (method 3). They resemble the Karasuk knives in certain features (method 5). The guard is only weakly expressed; it is as broad as blade and hilt and only separated by two incisions from the blade. The handle is slotted and shows two or three crossbars on the back. The terminal is sometimes shaped

<sup>1)</sup> Karlgren 1945, Nos. 174—179.

<sup>2)</sup> Published by Lipskii 1949, pp. 77—78 fig. 28/3.

<sup>3)</sup> E. g. Tallgren 1917, pl. IV 14, 15.

<sup>4)</sup> Kiselev 1949 p. 102. If the finds are compared, it becomes obvious that this knife is the same as that in Teploukhov 1927, XI:36 = Gaul 1943, XVII:36 = Kiselev 1949, XXI/61.

<sup>5)</sup> Large and heavy curved knives must, of course, have served another purpose. Some knives show affinities to European razors. Were they shaving-knives — for shearing sheep?

<sup>6)</sup> Kiselev 1949, pp. 72—74.

into a ring, sometimes it is formed by a cap-pommel — very similar to the knives — sometimes even a jingle occurs.

A very archaic specimen related to this group is reproduced by Tallgren.<sup>1)</sup>

The distribution is the usual one: Minusinsk: 12, Semi-palatinsk: 3 (slightly different forms), older cemetery of Tomsk: 2, Transbaikalia: 2.

Daggers have been known in the Minusinsk Basin since the earliest times, but the road from the Andronovo form to this one is rather a long one. Loehr used the specimen published by Tallgren to show a transition<sup>2)</sup> (Pl. VI:5), but this piece is isolated. It might easily be conceived of as a mixed form. It could be explained as being an imitation of a Karasuk dagger by some one who only knew how to make Andronovo weapons, as we have a simple archaic dagger from Transbaikalia, the hilt of which is attached to the blade forming an obtuse angle, such as is usually the case on knives only.<sup>3)</sup>

There are certain daggers of Andronovo which show a handle formed by two »pillars« (Pl. VI:11), but this type is of too late a date to be possibly regarded as the prototype of this development.<sup>4)</sup>

If we look to the Southeast, we can state that the group which Kiselev assigns to Karasuk is very similar to that other group which Loehr<sup>5)</sup> states to be typologically the oldest group in the Ordos region (Pl. VI:1—3). Here no prototypes of them can be found.

Does it mean that this group comes from Minusinsk, as Loehr believes? I do not think so. In the Minusinsk Basin there are finds enough to disprove an »earlier Karasuk«.<sup>6)</sup>

But there is still a possibility that these daggers could be derived from the western daggers of the more primitive Andronovo type (Pl. VI:4); for Andronovo represents a vast territory. Some time ago Andronovo sites were discovered in the T'ien-shan.<sup>7)</sup> Perhaps we may find the unknown prototypes here. Another indication of a western origin might possibly be the absence of these dagger forms in An-yang.

Hence we may conclude as far as the Minusinsk Basin is concerned that the same strong affinities to the Southeast can be seen in the daggers as in the knives. It is obvious that there can be only one explanation of the two facts.

As for the animal heads, we can show outside Minusinsk that a corresponding group of daggers is known with ram's heads fixed to the hilt forming a slight curve. This resembles some slightly curved hilt-terminals of daggers from the Ordos region.<sup>8)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> Tallgren 1927, pl. IV/16.

<sup>2)</sup> Loehr 1949 b, pp. 60—63.

<sup>3)</sup> Okladnikov 1938, p. 255.

<sup>4)</sup> Tallgren 1917, p. 42, fig. 34 a, 1937 b, p. 113, fig. 5,5; cf. perforated handles from An-yang.

<sup>5)</sup> Loehr 1949 b, p. 27.

<sup>6)</sup> Loehr 1949 b, p. 61.

<sup>7)</sup> Bernshtam 1949.

<sup>8)</sup> Loehr 1949 b, 4, 5, 7, 8.

This curious detail, the curved handle, seems to have served the purpose of suiting the dagger for horizontal stabbing. The weapon was apparently held like a pistol.<sup>1)</sup>

The generally known specimens are:

1. Dagger from the Chita museum;
2. Dagger from the Lake Koto Köl (Pl. V:9);
3. Dagger from An-yang;
4. Dagger from An-yang (Pl. V:10);
5. Dagger from Hattim sum, Chahar,
6. Dagger from the Loo Collection, North Chinese borderland; however, it shows a prominent middle rib and a strangely stylized animal head.<sup>2)</sup>

Kiselev<sup>3)</sup> classifies these weapons (1 and 2) as Karasuk, following earlier Russian scholars. Perhaps it is really impossible to separate them from the animal-head knives. But there is not one specimen known from the Minusinsk Basin which could without doubt be classed here. This form does not seem to belong particularly to the Ordos region either. Possibly the geographical distribution of these daggers may hint at another event, namely at cultural relations existing between Transbaikalia and North China at the same time as those between Ordos and the middle Yenisei, though independent of each other. We shall mention these later on.

Nor, naturally, are burial finds of the next group, the sickles<sup>4)</sup> to be expected. According to method 2, here too a group has been declared as Karasuk. These sickles have a wide perforation for fixing the handle. The point is curved slightly backwards as in the case of the second group of the knives. It seems that they must be regarded as Karasuk. The number of such sickles is small. Moreover, no parallel finds are known from the Southeast. We cannot, therefore, say more about their origin. The only indication is the resemblance to the S-curved knives. This is unfortunate, for afterwards the series in the development goes on without further interruption.

Besides this, there is still a special group of bronze sickles or »sekachi» (Russian scholars do not think them to be sickles but »clearing knives») which belong neither to Old Andronovo nor to Tagar forms. But they show strong analogies to a western group, namely the »sickles» of Sosnovaia Maza, which Tallgren dates at about 900 B. C. It seems obvious that the corresponding specimens from the Minusinsk region must be of approximately the same time, so that they belong at any rate to Karasuk. They seem to be a western admixture in the Karasuk inventory.<sup>5)</sup>

Since »Doppelbögen» (Merhart) or »bow shaped ornaments» as

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<sup>1)</sup> Cf. the Scythians on the gold comb from Solocha.

<sup>2)</sup> 1. = Salmony 1933, XXXVI/1. 2. = Karlgren 1945, Nr. 235. 3. = Karlgren 1945, Nr. 182. 4. = Karlgren 1945, Nr. 183. 5. = Karlgren 1945, Nr. 227. 6. = Salmony 1933, XXXVI/2.

<sup>3)</sup> Kiselev 1949, p. 102.

<sup>4)</sup> Kiselev 1949, p. 75.

<sup>5)</sup> Kiselev 1949, p. 74.

Karlgren calls them<sup>1)</sup> appear in the older cemetery of Tomsk as well as in An-yang, the very oldest pieces from the Minusinsk Basin must be supposed to have still belonged to Karasuk. The Karasuk complex in its geographical and perhaps also in its typological and temporal conditions plays an intermediate rôle between these two poles. The fact that bow-shaped ornaments are found in the graves in Tagar time does not contradict this.

Nor does the Russian material explain their purpose. Their relations with the East, as stated by Tallgren, have never been denied since<sup>2)</sup>.) Kiselev believes them to be »miniature images of yokes in analogy to the Chous.« But such miniature objects do not normally appear before the Late Tagar period of the Minusinsk region. This form must be much older. The similarity to a yoke, however, is remarkable in the Siberian pieces. This idea was very tempting, the more so as in the Chinese way of harnessing the horse many features are reminiscent of an earlier use of cattle. The carriage was also known to Karasuk as is shown by the stele of the village of Snamenka, where a fourwheeled vehicle is reproduced.<sup>3)</sup>

We know a group of bronze arrowheads which differ from those of Andronovo and which are not represented in the Tagarsk graves either. Of course, this indication (method 2) alone is not enough, but perhaps further arguments will be found later on. This would be of special interest, since the arrowpoints strongly resemble those of An-yang, as Kiselev states.<sup>4)</sup>

This part of the inventory may be uncertain in detail, but we can discern several groups:

1. Local or western-related types: the square bronze awls belong to them, but so do also the celts, and one form of the sickles, that is to say objects which are connected with woodwork, perhaps also with agriculture. But even here the distribution is quite different from that of the original Andronovo region, and alterations are to be found.

2. Tools and weapons which cannot be derived from local types.

a. Forms the distribution of which extends from the Altai to Mongolia and the Ordos region as far as An-yang. These are the knives, especially with animal heads, and also the first element to be recognized as reaching so far, the bow-shaped ornament.

b. Besides these, there are elements of similar distribution, but not reaching as far as An-yang. These are daggers<sup>5)</sup>, possibly the pick, and the »open» celt. These things, too, have no relationship to the Andronovo of the Minusinsk Basin.

Metals being a highly estimated article of trade, the Karasuk metal types far

<sup>1)</sup> Cf. Karlgren 1948, p. 12.

<sup>2)</sup> Tallgren 1917, p. 52 b.

<sup>3)</sup> Kiselev 1949, p. 94.

<sup>4)</sup> Kiselev 1949, p. 94. Radloff XXI, 27.

<sup>5)</sup> Loehr 1949 b.

exceed the confines of the Karasuk pottery. Besides the Minusinsk Basin, a large number of finds have been regularly reported from Semipalatinsk and the Altai. Single pieces extend even further, but they are separated by hundreds of kilometers and are very scarce, especially in the steppes. They obviously wandered in a northwesterly direction, into the forest steppes as far as to the Ob and the Tobol. The main direction of the trade was evidently in this region. The older cemetery of Tomsk marks an important commercial centre.

In the Southeast, Tuva is insufficiently explored. Mongolia, however, shows transitional stations to Suei-yüan. But this is a different cultural province; and still more so is that of An-yang. The northern area of Krasnoyarsk and the mountain taiga seem to have been a mere trading-district. The region around Lake Baikal, however, has yielded a much higher number of finds. The types come partly from the Minusinsk region, partly they show closer affinities direct with the South.

It is a common feature of the entire series of metal forms, that far stronger specialization has taken place compared with Andronovo time. Now, instead of one dagger form, three types of knives can be recognized. Besides these, the dagger remains — for special purposes. It marks a great improvement in handicraft skill. It is possible that at that time a change took place in the material used for the moulds.<sup>1)</sup> Here stronger differences may be observed than in other regions of civilization. They may have been attributable to a change in the mode of living.

#### E. Clothing and Food.

A thorough change in the whole mode of living must, of course, show results especially in these domains. But as far as clothing<sup>2)</sup> is concerned, not enough textiles have remained to give us any material for a comparison with other civilizations. The textiles were only spared where they have been in direct contact with metals, where the copper-pyrites have preserved the threads. Moreover, the flat graves were not at all favourable for the preservation of any organic materials.

But in at least three cases woollen tissue has been found. In two of them the weave was simple, in the third it was a more complicated one, a so-called diagonal weave.

From later times leather was often preserved, especially sheaths for weapons and tools, but it was doubtless already known in Karasuk. Some archaeologists think that the »open» celts were used for working leather. The strange copper-rivets were probably used for attaching a covering for the feet made of the same material.<sup>3)</sup>

The mortuary gifts of food are of greater significance for us.<sup>4)</sup> The incrustation that is sometimes found in the vessels gives us reason to think of liquid or pulpy

<sup>1)</sup> Griaznov 1941, p. 254; Tallgren 1917, p. 38.

<sup>2)</sup> Kiselev 1949, p. 83.

<sup>3)</sup> Kiselev 1937 a, pp. 147—148.

<sup>4)</sup> Kiselev 1949, pp. 83—84.

food, as mentioned above. But as no chemical examinations have been made, we have no definite results.

Animal bones were never found in vessels, but close beside them. The knives, too, were used as carving-knives, as mentioned before. But animal bones were not by any means found in every grave. Of 290 inventories, only 63 (22 %) contained bones of animals. The distribution of graves with animal bones is a somewhat irregular one:<sup>1)</sup>

Slite	Sheep	Cow	Calf	Horse	Camel
Mokhov . . . . .	—	—	—	—	—
Ust-Syda . . . . .	5	2	—	—	—
Syda . . . . .	—	—	—	—	—
Krivaia . . . . .	1	4	1	—	—
Ust Tes . . . . .	2	5	—	—	—
Georgievskiaia gora . . . . .	1	—	—	1	1?
Bystraia (1930) . . . . .	3	6	—	—	—
* (1931) . . . . .	—	—	—	—	—
Podkuninskaia . . . . .	1	2	—	—	—
IArki . . . . .	2	—	—	—	—
Ninia 1908 . . . . .	1	1	—	—	—
Tes 1928 . . . . .	3	—	—	—	—
Ilinskaia gora . . . . .	1	—	—	1	1
Orak 1927 . . . . .	1	—	—	—	—
Bystraia 1929 . . . . .	1	—	—	—	—
Okunev 1926 . . . . .	2	—	—	—	—
Okunev 1927 . . . . .	5	—	—	—	—
Saragash . . . . .	8	—	—	—	—

I. e. in 37 cases (58.6 %) sheep, in 21 (33.3 %) cattle, in 4 (6.3 %) horse, in 1 (1.8 %) the fore-legs of a camel. Besides these, in grave No. 8 at Okunev Ulus the skeleton of a domestic dog was found.<sup>2)</sup>

The reason for these differences cannot be the wealth or the poverty of the dead. Sometimes a grave with many bones was poor in its metal inventory, and a beautiful knife was found where there were no bones at all. Nor is it very probable that, where bones were absent, there had not existed any cattle-raising at all. Kiselev assumes that they were simply different burial customs.<sup>3)</sup> We must also remember that not every form of animal food for the dead can be recognized afterwards by a »ham-bone» left behind.

But I do not believe, as Kiselev does, that all these finds of animal bones can be interpreted as mortuary gifts of food, except those in the dog's grave. The

<sup>1)</sup> Kiselev 1949 tab.

<sup>2)</sup> As for the burial site near the town of Abakan, no details are known as yet.

<sup>3)</sup> Kiselev 1949, p. 84.

»fore-legs of a camel» cannot be considered very tasty food even for a dead person. We might take this as a hint to look for affinities to the still unexplained wood sculptures of the Lop-nor region, which represent animal feet with hoofs.<sup>1)</sup> In the Minusinsk Basin, too, hoofs made of bronze are known to have been placed in the graves of the first centuries B. C. Or might this be an affinity to a burial rite similar to that of the »Book of Etiquette and Ceremonial«?<sup>2)</sup> Kiselev likes to schematise, and I am often obliged to follow him, as only he has the essential material.

The suddenly growing importance of sheep-raising is striking. In former times the various domestic animals were fairly equally distributed. The sheep also became an object of art (as found on knives and steles). Thus we might presume a thorough change in the economic foundations of the people.

#### F. Dwelling-sites.

Our knowledge of the Karsuk settlements is so limited, especially if we compare it with the richer inventory of the graves and the stray finds, that it may be sufficient to sum up all we know in a short chapter.

Unfortunately, untouched dwelling-sites have been found only at two places so far: near the villages of Anash and of Bateni (the so-called »IArki«)<sup>3)</sup>. In both cases the cultural layer is very thin, but it contains a considerable number of sherds. Such rich finds of pottery in contrast to the extraordinarily small extension of the layer made Kiselev believe that the settlement had been very intensive but of brief duration. He gained the same impression from the rather badly preserved sites along the Yenisei. They are lying on the downs, exposed to the wind. Here, besides sherds, stone tools, arrow-heads and scrapers are also sometimes found. All signs indicate that here, too, the cultural layer is very thin. Sometimes calcined stones are found lying in a circle, apparently the remnants of fire-places. There are no further indications of the existence of dwellings.

Does this mean that these sites were only the temporary camps of a nomad people? Kiselev gave up that idea in view of the extraordinary frequency of the pots and the fact of their being sometimes of a good size. The position of the sites is also favourable for agriculture. For this reason the Russian explorer thinks that both agriculture and cattle-raising have existed there. Unfortunately, no remains of hand-mills have been found, as they have a little further west, in the Altai. But we know that certain socketed celts which belong to Karasuk were later on, in Tagar time, changed in such a manner that they cannot any longer have served as tools for woodwork, but had obviously become agricultural tools.<sup>4)</sup> There are numerous further arguments to be quoted against a mere pastoral nomad life.

<sup>1)</sup> Bergman 1939, pp. 61—87.

<sup>2)</sup> Cf. Li Chi 1943, p. 136.

<sup>3)</sup> Teplovkhov 1927, pp. 102—105; Kiselev 1949, pp. 93—94.

<sup>4)</sup> Kiselev 1949, p. 149.

It was during Andronovo that the agricultural development in the steppes reached its climax. Permanent settlements are known in the West. In respect of the Tagar period also there are ample arguments supporting the existence of agriculture. It would be surprising if during the time between these two periods agriculture should have been totally abandoned. Nevertheless, it might have become of less importance. A further argument against a mere nomad life is the finds of sickles belonging to Karasuk.

Moreover, hunting does not seem to have had much significance. Arrow-heads have been found, but their number is not considerable. (Kiselev compares them to arrow-heads of An-yang).<sup>1)</sup> If we keep in mind the rite of burial it is obvious why they are not found in the graves.<sup>2)</sup>

But the most important information derived from the dwelling-sites is to be found in another direction. In both the undisturbed sites, a large number of Andronovo sherds were found. It was impossible, however, to separate them stratigraphically. This is why the excavators of these two sites are convinced that they belong to a transitional time, when old and new features were co-existent. This would easily explain why we find Andronovo forms up to the very zenith of Karasuk culture.

On some of the wind-blown sites little drops of bronze were found, as if they had been shed on casting.<sup>3)</sup> Obviously they used to cast in case of need in every camp. This explains, on the one hand, why there are no large deposits, and, on the other hand, the extraordinary variety of the bronze types. A traditional handicraft did not yet exist, so that no stylization, based on any specific principle, is to be found. Later on, for example in the Tagar culture, we find stylized bronzes evidencing a specialized handicraft. In Karasuk time, highly artistic specimens probably revealed only the special talent of an individual person. We have good reason to regard casting as a »domestic craft» like carpet-weaving or leather-work.

We know the pits where the copper probably came from.<sup>4)</sup> They are situated in the forest zone of the mountains and had already been utilized for some centuries before Karasuk. The kind of sledges found in these pits have also been discovered in Afanasievo and in the »catacombs» of the Pontic steppe. They were still met with in Late Andronovo, as might be concluded from the finds at Grakova. Broad shafts run at a slant down into the earth to a depth of 20 m. They resemble, in general, those of the European Bronze Age. As in Europe, the rock had been loosened by fire-brands, so that work with wedge and sledge could begin. The broken-off ore was brought in baskets to the surface, and was reduced in the immediate vicinity. The dross, containing still a good deal of copper, shows that this was done at open fires. Around these fire-places, halfmoon-shaped heaps of

<sup>1)</sup> Kiselev quotes Radloff pl. XXI/27 as an example.

<sup>2)</sup> As to fishing, we have no evidence.

<sup>3)</sup> Kiselev 1949, pp. 95—96.

<sup>4)</sup> Besides Kiselev, cf. Levashova 1939.

dross arose, which finally obliged the labourers to change the site. As these copper pits were lying far away from all the ordinary dwelling-sites of the Karasuk people, Kiselev believes that they had belonged to an ancient population, at any rate to another one. But so long as we do not know the artifacts of their dwelling-sites, this is merely hypothetical. Actually we must take into consideration the possibility that the Karasuk people went into the mountains for »seasonal work». In Central Europe, too, the places where iron was found were often located outside the ordinary dwelling-sites. In the immediate vicinity only temporary settlement could be noticed, slightly built huts etc. That does not mean that a nomad people had wandered from one place to another; but the agricultural population went into the mountains for a short time to carry on iron production. We know of similar cases from Central Asia, and we learn from the Mongols that the princes went into the mountains at a certain time in order to forge there to the honour of their ancestors.<sup>1)</sup>

A very important but, unfortunately, unsolved problem is that of the origin of the tin that was needed for the bronze. Chernikov states<sup>2)</sup> that in the territory of the Soviet Union only the western Altai has tin. This region does not belong to the Karasuk culture, but to Late Andronovo. That fact does not, of course, exclude an export of tin to the neighbouring country. But a second possibility must be considered regarding the general cultural relations of Karasuk: with Suei-yüan, which, like Chili and Yünnan, belongs to the Chinese provinces where tin pits were known from prehistoric times. Perhaps the chemical analysis will one day provide here an important clue to the orientation of the Karasuk culture.

#### G. The Karasuk Steles.

Finally, we wish to consider the sculptures (Pl. VII), which differ from the usual Baba figures in their characteristic sabre shape and the peculiar human faces, mostly on the lower half of the narrow side. They are exclusively confined to the Minusinsk Basin. The »Alt-altaische Kunstdenkmäler» gives an excellent survey of the subject.<sup>3)</sup>

The face is sometimes surprisingly realistic<sup>4)</sup> and, curiously enough, on the head there are often the horns of a bull, or the antlers of a stag, or the ears of an animal. In other cases the faces are extraordinarily stylized. The face is crossed by transversal lines forming an ornament. A third eye appears in the middle of the forehead. Serpentine lines are flaring round the face, reaching sometimes to the very top of the rock. This stylization is completely unknown in other Karasuk objects. Sometimes, however, these monuments are crowned with a ram's head<sup>5)</sup> which reminds

<sup>1)</sup> Cf. Alföldi 1932.

<sup>2)</sup> Chernikov 1948, pp. 97—100.

<sup>3)</sup> Appelgren-Kivalo, 1931.

<sup>4)</sup> As in the small sculptures of the Andronovo graves.

<sup>5)</sup> Cf. Tallgren 1938, p. 118.

us of some of the animal-head knives. These affinities led Griaznov and Schneider<sup>1)</sup> to the conclusion that they belong to Karasuk. In spite of many peculiarities, they are to be classed here rather than anywhere else. Their peculiar features are to be explained by their special function, for both archaeologists believe them to be the images of gods. Kiselev<sup>2)</sup> speaks of ancestors of a clan or shaman images, but his opinion is based chiefly on theoretical deliberations. In practice, it would not make much difference, for neither the one nor the other theory can be proved.

We have already mentioned that a carriage is to be seen on one of these steles.<sup>3)</sup>

In European literature the style of these steles was for a long time supposed to have affinities to the T'ao-t'ieh masks of China. Hentze<sup>4)</sup> came to this conclusion from the shape of the eye, Salmony<sup>5)</sup> from the cross lines that divide the face. Tallgren<sup>6)</sup> referred in a few words to the same relationship.

Kiselev draws similar comparisons without knowing or citing his predecessors.<sup>7)</sup> His argument is the »third eye» in the middle of the forehead. Knowing much more than the others about the history of the Minusinsk Basin, he is able to show without difficulty that a similar stylization of the human face is to be met with only then, i. e. during the period of the strongest relations with the South-east.

If this comparison can be confirmed, it would be of immense importance. Loehr, for example, makes the objection that no case is known where a specific Shang design is found in the North: this, at least, would be the first typical Chinese design.<sup>8)</sup>

On my part, I should like to point out that the rock pictures of Lang-shan (NW. of the Ordos region) show a certain similarity to carvings like those on Tasmin Stone I. Maringer calls them »geometrisch-anthropomorph». Precisely these same features appear on some of the Karasuk steles.<sup>9)</sup>

In this survey of the Karasuk culture, I now propose to point out the following facts:

1. The distribution of all these forms is quite different from that of the preceding Andronovo culture (Pls. VIII, IX).

A. The centre is the Minusinsk Basin. During this period the population had become very much more numerous. The difference is so strong that Kiselev is unable to explain the increase by the normal growth of the Andronovo people.<sup>10)</sup>

There are still other regions which depend on Minusinsk for several forms. Some

<sup>1)</sup> Griaznov (and Schneider) 1929 a.

<sup>2)</sup> Kiselev 1933 b.

<sup>3)</sup> Kiselev 1949, p. 94.

<sup>4)</sup> Cf. e. g. Hentze 1937.

<sup>5)</sup> Salmony 1931, p. 185.

<sup>6)</sup> Tallgren 1937 a, p. 86.

<sup>7)</sup> Kiselev 1949, pp. 98—101.

<sup>8)</sup> E. g. »Head and snake». This subject has a Neolithic prelude in China.

<sup>9)</sup> Observed by F. Bergman and published by J. Maringer 1950, pp. 68—73; M. likewise assumes relations to Minusinsk pictures, but he adduces other figures.

<sup>10)</sup> Kiselev 1949, p. 64.

of them are regular colonies, for example the region of Tomsk.<sup>1)</sup> The older cemetery of Tomsk belongs to the end of Karasuk, when Tagar forms are already appearing. Here we find typical Karasuk pottery, sharply distinguishable from all pottery in the surroundings. (Besides the late date, this was also one reason for considering Tomsk to be a colony). Besides the bones of domestic animals, grinding stones for corn are found here, so that we may conceive of a pastoral-agrarian economy in spite of the woodlands.

Far in the West, in Kargan and a<sup>2)</sup>, finds have been reported as isolated and as typical Karasuk as those in the region of Tomsk.

B. There is still another group of sites where Karasuk metallurgy predominates, but in pottery and in the rite of interment, i. e. in those features which are strongly connected with the ethnical basis, they show many particular features. These are the steppes in the north of the Altai,<sup>3)</sup> namely the river-basins of the upper Ob, of the Bia and Katuna. Here we find flat-bottomed vessels. But certain characteristic traits in the ornaments indicate far stronger relations with Scythian forms than with Minusinsk. Does this signify a later date or merely a geographical vicinity for the original home of the Scythians?

The latest of the explored sites is the extraordinarily important one Blizhnie IElbany.<sup>4)</sup>

In the southern Altai<sup>5)</sup> there have been discovered at least a few Karasuk knives among the small number of stray finds. Certain metal forms of Karasuk type are reflected in finds made in the vicinity of Krasnoyarsk.<sup>6)</sup> Here are, moreover, undoubted ethnical differences. The site of Ust'Sobakinsk shows typical features of Karasuk in metal forms. But besides this, the pottery is archaic; stone tools are predominant, and no evidence of cattle-raising can be found.

But in the northwestern direction the influence of some forms reaches as far as to the Ob and the Tobol, perhaps even beyond the Urals.<sup>7)</sup>

The western Altai (Semipalatinsk and the upper Irtysh), however, seems never to have been dependent on Karasuk. This region may rather have received some suggestions from Karasuk, and have begun competing with Minusinsk.<sup>8)</sup>

Even the Lake Baikal region was strongly influenced by Karasuk. But here we find quite another cultural complex. In the so-called »coffin-graves« and »stone-tombs«, these influences have lived on for a long time.<sup>9)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> Kiselev 1949, p. 88. Bibliography.

<sup>2)</sup> Rykov 1935.

<sup>3)</sup> Kiselev 1949, p. 89. Besides, cf. Griaznov 1927, 1930 a.

<sup>4)</sup> Griaznov 1949.

<sup>5)</sup> Debets 1948, p. 82.

<sup>6)</sup> Kiselev 1949, p. 87.

<sup>7)</sup> The settlement to which the older cemetery of Tomsk belonged was apparently a commercial centre.

<sup>8)</sup> Griaznov 1930 b. Here is a particular cultural centre.

<sup>9)</sup> Okladnikov 1938; Sosnovskii 1940 and 1941.

C. Besides these, there are regions which show many affinities without belonging to the same complex. These are, chiefly, Suei-yüan and, finally, An-yang.

2. The Karasuk culture, therefore, shows a completely different distribution compared with Andronovo. The inventory has, in some respects, still retained features of Andronovo and even of Afanasievo.

Such continuity is to be found in:

- a) burial customs;
- b) ornamentation and certain formal elements of the pottery;
- c) dwelling-sites (transitional forms);
- d) ornaments (beads etc.);

and perhaps also in:

- e) socketed celts;
- f) agricultural implements (sickles).

A series of types is peculiar to Karasuk:

- a) pottery (round bottom);
- b) ornaments (finger rings etc.).

There are, however, numerous forms which cannot be derived from the local development, but they show strong affinities to the North Chinese borderland, partially even to An-yang. These are:

- a) technique of the pottery;
- b) a special form of pottery;
- c) certain forms of ornaments;
- d) celts with an orifice;
- e) knives (also with animal heads);
- f) daggers;
- g) bow-shaped ornaments, possibly together with the corresponding form of the carriage;
- h) predominance of sheep-raising;
- i) arrow-heads (?).

This survey clearly shows that the Andronovo inheritance is but one element in the Karasuk culture. With this small inheritance, the Minusinsk region abandons the western cultural complex, so to speak, and enters an eastern one.

There remains but one question: did this happen through cultural diffusion only or was it caused by the foundation of an empire, or by an actual migration?

Whether we have here an occurrence of only a cultural or also of an ethnical order cannot be decided by the material presented so far. We shall, therefore, now consider the results of the palaeo-anthropological examination of skulls and skeletons of the Karasuk graves.

## II. ANTHROPOLOGICAL MATERIAL.

The history of research in this field is very simple. The initial slight efforts showed a brachycephalic element among the cranial material from the Karasuk time with certain Mongoloid features. Hence we have a superficial similarity to that mixed Turkish type which connects the characteristics of the so-called Pamiro-Ferghan race with eastern features. It is often found in the Mediaeval nomad graves of Turkistan. No systematic research was, however, possible before Teploukhov had given his clear definition of the Karasuk graves.<sup>1)</sup>

It was Debets, then, who, relying partly on his own excavations, examined and discussed the steadily increasing material in the following decades. Landmarks in his work were a treatise on 37 skulls and skeletons from the Karasuk graves in the »Anthropological Journal« 1932,<sup>2)</sup> and a summary of all available material, including especially that of Kiselev's excavations in South Siberia, in his »Palaeoanthropology of the Soviet Union« in 1948.<sup>3)</sup> Debets very soon saw that the Karasuk people could not belong to the Pamiro-Ferghan race, since that type is a late one which has its origin in quite another region. In order to form a judgment on that mixed type which belongs to the Karasuk culture we must first consider the people of the Afanasievo and of the Andronovo cultures.

Debets describes the people of Afanasievo<sup>4)</sup> as being very tall and strong. The skull shows a pronounced dolichocephaly, very prominent nasal bones, a rather low face, low orbits, and a very broad forehead. All these characteristics make the Afanasievo people very different from the former inhabitants of Cisbaikalia and probably of all people of the Siberian taiga. They show that we find here Europoide types which are somewhat different from the modern representatives of that race. Many features, especially the broad face, remind us of the Cromagnon type. It is doubtless an old form. The people are rather similar to those of the western »pit graves».

The skeletal material of the Andronovo culture<sup>5)</sup> (Pls. XI, XIV) is a variety of the Afanasievo type. There is, however, a series of characteristic differences:

1. The face is still lower, which implies an increase in the nasal index and a decrease in the orbital index.
2. The skull is somewhat shorter and broader, so that the cranial index increases. (The Andronovo people are mesocephalic).
3. The forehead is straight, possibly in connection with the general change in the cranial structure.

This type has probably immigrated into the Minusinsk region and gave agriculture

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<sup>1)</sup> Kiselev 1949, p. 67.

<sup>2)</sup> Debets 1932, pp. 26—48.

<sup>3)</sup> Debets 1948, pp. 77—83, pl. 12.

<sup>4)</sup> Debets 1948, pp. 64—69.

<sup>5)</sup> Debets 1948, pp. 70—76.

a more important position. On the other hand, this type is spread as far as the Pontic steppes.

The cranial material of Karasuk<sup>1)</sup> (Pls. XII, XIV), however, shows fundamental differences from these two types:

1. The face is narrow and high (the difference is as great as is at all possible within the range of the normal variability of these characteristics among men). The differences in nose and orbits are accordingly considerable.

2. The nose is flat — like, for example, that of the Turkish Nomads of the Middle Ages. (Hence they were at first compared to them).

3. The brachycephaly has become a good deal stronger. This is to be explained by a diminished head length.

4. The forehead is narrow and inclined. The skull has lost in height. The brow ridges are not much developed.

If one cranial form is developed from another (for example, in brachycephalization), a certain functional connection is to be found between the modifications, as Debets believes.<sup>2)</sup> In this case, however, the differences are just the opposite of the usual functional relations.

Cranial and facial index, for example, are in a negative correlation. Between the Andronovo and the Karasuk types this correlation becomes positive.

If the skull becomes shorter, the forehead usually becomes straighter. But here the contrary is noticeable.

A more inclined forehead is normally connected with strongly expressed brow ridges, but the Karasuk skull shows a more inclined forehead, together with not very highly developed brow ridges.

Thus the Karasuk skull differs from the Andronovo skull not only formally but also in the direction of its development. It is obvious, then, that the Karasuk people cannot be the direct descendants of the Andronovo people. Only to a limited extent could the ancestors of this people be of Andronovo type.

Strong differences in the skeletons are pointed out by Debets. The Karasuk skeletons are small and slender.

Even the Afanasievo series has not very definite relations with this material. The following combination of characters: flat nose, high face, inclined forehead, and weakly expressed brow-ridges belong apparently to the Asiatic racial group, that is to say, to the Mongoloids in the widest sense.<sup>3)</sup> But the Mongoloids who are the eastern and northern neighbours of Minusinsk have a broader face,<sup>4)</sup> so that there is no solution of the problem here. The next types akin to these are

<sup>1)</sup> Debets 1948, p. 77.

<sup>2)</sup> Debets 1948, p. 79.

<sup>3)</sup> Cf. Roginskii 1937; Cheboksarov 1947.

<sup>4)</sup> Survey in Debets 1948, pp. 53—63. The west is Europoid and remains Europoid. Nor can any Mongoloids of this kind be found in the period in question in the near south and southeast e. g. in Tuva.

found further southeast in the territory of modern China. Even the Chinese of to-day show this combination of characteristics, but it is more strongly expressed in the cranial material from the excavations of Neolithic sites in the region of the Yang Shao culture.<sup>1)</sup>

The result, at any rate, looks precisely as if »Sinides«<sup>2)</sup> had taken part in the formation of the Karasuk population. No skull, however, bears these south-eastern racial characters unmixed. We repeatedly find details resembling peculiarities of Andronovo, but mostly Afanasievo types.

Debets, therefore, regards the Karasuk people as a mixed population.<sup>3)</sup> Local types with remarkably predominant Afanasievo features mixed with a new element, the origin of which must have been the »North-Chinese-Manchurian-Korean» territory. Besides this, a brachycephalic Europoid element is assumed by Debets. He believes that this element had already been mixed with the Sinides outside of Minusinsk. This would explain the absence of unmixed types.

These south-eastern admixtures are not found anywhere in the Altai and in the western territory. Here the population is still of the original Andronovo type.<sup>4)</sup>

The skeletal material of the following Tagar time (Pls. XIII, XIV) likewise indicates that in the Minusinsk region an invasion had taken place which was limited in time and place. Once more the development takes a new course. The Europoid element predominates again. Only in some characters does inheritance of Karasuk remain alive.<sup>5)</sup>

As far as our knowledge of the western sites goes, the situation of Minusinsk appears absolutely unique.

### III. SUMMARY.

If we compare the results of anthropology with those of the archaeological research, the following becomes evident:

1. The inheritance of Andronovo features and the revival of Afanasievo features, especially in pottery and in burial customs, correspond to Afanasievo and Andronovo elements in the cranial material.

2. The southeastern relations in respect of metallurgy show a parallelism in the »Sinide» kinship of the skulls.

<sup>1)</sup> Debets 1948, p. 81; Black, 1928. This latter treatise explains why the cranial material was at first compared to the Tibetic one (cf. Cheboksarov 1948).

<sup>2)</sup> Gaul (1943, p. 164) cites this statement from Debets 1932, but he does not realize its importance. »Sinides« means only racial relationship to the proto-Chinese type (according to Black), and is not equivalent to v. Eickstedt's term.

<sup>3)</sup> Debets 1948, p. 82.

<sup>4)</sup> Cf. Debets 1948 tabs. 15—17.

<sup>5)</sup> Debets 1948 pp. 124—129. Precisely in regard to the strong cultural continuity from Karasuk to Tagar this involves a special problem.

3. Karasuk must be looked upon as a mixed culture practised by a population which is likewise mixed.
4. Immediate predecessors who might have possessed these »Sinide» elements in race and culture in the Minusinsk Basin or in its immediate vicinity are not known to us.
5. Therefore a migration over far distances must have taken place.
6. The concentration of similar forms in Suei-yüan and Chahar indicates from which part of the vast region of the »Sinides» this migration must have started.
7. West of Minusinsk, especially in the Altai, this combination of anthropological type and Karasuk inventory does not exist. Here we can therefore only reckon with cultural diffusion. Immigration has been confined to the Minusinsk region.
8. Karlgren deals mainly with weapons and tools belonging to the inventory of that immigrating group. No doubt, therefore, his conception of this part of the problem is correct.<sup>1)</sup>

#### IV. CONJECTURAL CONSIDERATIONS.

A migration from the Chinese borderland to the Minusinsk Basin at the beginning of the first millennium B. C. must lead, of course, to a thorough revision of our conception of the cultural structure of Siberia. This means that at that time the irradiations of two high-cultures crossed there. In the Bronze Age of the western steppes we have to take into consideration quite similar ethnical movements. Immigrants (coming perhaps from the South)<sup>2)</sup> were the builders of the »catacombs». The distribution of power and the direction of migrations differ much from what we have believed up till now, basing our conclusions on an analogy with later times. These invaders must have played a rôle somewhat like that of the Etrurians in Italy.

This migration, moreover, has essential consequences for our knowledge of the Chinese borderland. It was here that the movement started. The emigrants were relatives of the people who produced the Karasuk-like Ordos bronzes, or they were even identical with them. Since, at Minusinsk, they resemble the stock of the North Chinese population, they must have had the same characteristics in their own country. Therefore we may suppose that the Shang-time Ordos bronzes were produced by the »Sinides» of the Chinese borderland.<sup>3)</sup>

This is a starting-point. But are we not able to state anything more definite? The Russian scholars try, with varying degrees of success, to reach further conclusions, for western treatises are inaccessible to them as theirs are to us. Following

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<sup>1)</sup> Contra Loehr 1949 a, p. 133.

<sup>2)</sup> Cf. Debets 1948, pp. 103—104. A similar immigration in the region of the Fatianovo culture is discussed by Trofimova 1949.

<sup>3)</sup> We know almost nothing about the prior population of the Gobi, and we cannot therefore say anything about the confines of their distribution. The »Great Wall» is at least a later frontier.

the theories which are summed up by Kiselev<sup>1)</sup> I now propose to give a short survey of the new situation.

In the first place, it is striking that the »increasing importance of sheep-raising through a south-eastern immigration» conforms to the idea which the Shang people had of their northwestern neighbours. Their human sacrifices are known to have been chosen from the prisoners of war and were designed by the character 羊 which has subsequently been interpreted as »Barbarians who raise sheep«.<sup>2)</sup> Because the Tibetic Nomads have continued to raise sheep in a very archaic form even to-day<sup>3)</sup>, and the character »Ch'iang» being to-day used for such groups, many efforts have been made to identify these »Ch'iang» of the oracle bones with the Tibetans.<sup>4)</sup> Cheboksarov, therefore, speaks of the Karasuk culture as a »Tibetan invasion» in the Minusinsk Basin.<sup>5)</sup> Such attempts, naturally, go far beyond anything we know for certain, and what we shall ever be able to prove. But there may in fact have been tribes, even far out in the Gobi, who were akin to the Chinese, the northern wing, so to speak, of the »Sinides». Later on, in the same place we find Turco-Mongols. Therefore we may reasonably suggest that the Tibetans are partly composed of the descendants of those who were displaced when the »Northern Sinides» were defeated.

But the Russian scholars follow up another clue. They try to show that the ethnonym »Din-lin» (= Ting-ling) was spread wherever Karasuk culture was found.<sup>6)</sup> It does not matter, they say, if according to their description the Ting-ling have Europoid features, for we know that the Minusinsk region became Europoid again in spite of the continuation of the cultural development — maybe by sub-diffusion. The very ethnonym appears in the Chinese borderland. Maenchen-Helfen<sup>7)</sup> alludes to the possibility that we may find here fragments of the Yeniseian Ting-ling, which were displaced perhaps by the Huns. The Russians, on the contrary, believe them to be the very survivals of the Ting-ling who remained in their original country. Accordingly, the remark of the T'ang shu 217 B »The Chien-k'un intermarried with the Ting-ling»<sup>8)</sup> is interpreted as an indication of the origin of the Hakas. As we are well aware, this people was formed by a fusion of Mongoloid elements from the Altai with the old Europoid inhabitants of the Minusinsk Basin. This process can be pursued fairly exactly in the »Tashtyk graves».<sup>9)</sup>

If we compare the view of Kiselev with that of Maenchen-Helfen we find essential differences. Without a thorough reexamination of the Chinese sources it is

<sup>1)</sup> Kiselev 1949, pp. 101—108.

<sup>2)</sup> Creel 1936, pp. 213—216.

<sup>3)</sup> Hermanns 1949.

<sup>4)</sup> E. g. Eberhard 1942, p. 416.

<sup>5)</sup> Cheboksarov 1948.

<sup>6)</sup> Kiselev 1949, p. 106 Bibliography.

<sup>7)</sup> Maenchen-Helfen 1939, p. 84.

<sup>8)</sup> Maenchen-Helfen 1939, p. 82.

<sup>9)</sup> Kiselev 1949, pp. 216—268; cf. Tallgren 1937 a.

impossible to come to a decision. Otherwise constructions erected on that basis seem rather fantastic.<sup>1)</sup> I do not therefore intend to go into further details here.

Of far more importance than such a premature identification would be some indication as to why the settlement of a far-off region like Minusinsk took place. No final answer can be expected, since we do not know what the pertinent finds in Northern Mongolia which were observed by Kiselev really mean.<sup>2)</sup> We do not know who were the earlier inhabitants of this region. The narrow-faced Mongoloid element of the Northern Chinese never appears unmixed in Minusinsk. So we may assume that already here a mixture with Europoids took place. Perhaps these may have been brachycephalic Europoid types, perhaps even groups that approach the Afanasievo type. This could explain the surprising Afanasievo-renaissance of the Minusinsk region. (Kiselev states at any rate that he has found fragments of pottery in Northern Mongolia which are akin to the Afanasievo forms.) But this is mere speculation.

I shall confine myself, therefore, to presenting the various reasons which *a priori* might cause such a migration:

1. The nomads need agrarian products and are, therefore, attracted by an agricultural population, such as the Andronovo people of the Minusinsk region. This leads to a sort of symbiosis such as we know existed between Turks and Iranians in the Middle Ages.<sup>3)</sup>
2. Just as in Afanasievo time, it may have been again the need for raw materials, namely, copper.
3. Besides these reasons, the existence of a very powerful culture in the North Chinese borderland<sup>4)</sup> may have supplied the basis for such a distribution.
4. Vice versa, the military pressure of the Shang state may have forced its neighbours to emigrate.

Kiselev favours this last, doubtless quite tenable, thesis. If we consider how the Chinese treated their prisoners of war, its probability increases. In any case, the Ordos people were not equestrian warriors, otherwise they would have captured the Chinese for the purpose of sacrifice, and not vice versa, as was actually the case. This fact is confirmed by the absence of horse harness in the Karasuk complex.

The choice between points 3 and 4 touches the question discussed between Karlgren and Loehr, whether Animal Style elements have migrated from An-yang into the nomad culture, or, on the contrary, whether they appear as a nomad interpolation at An-yang.

We now arrive at the first partial problem which we excluded from consideration at the very beginning, not wishing, nor being prepared, to jump into the claws of the Sinologists. We would only make the remark that even in the »nomad region»,

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<sup>1)</sup> Cf. lectures published in SE VI/VII, 1947.

<sup>2)</sup> Kiselev 1947, p. 359.

<sup>3)</sup> Kiselev 1949, p. 87 and treatises by Tolstov and Bernshtam.

<sup>4)</sup> Loehr 1949, p. 23.

that is to say in the Pazyryk Kurgan II, besides the Animal Style of the »knightly» equipment there is to be found an ornamental style in textile goods and pottery. Both of these styles must have co-existed for several hundred years.<sup>1)</sup>

Moreover, it is very characteristic of an early high culture that quite different elements are contemporaneously alive in a hierarchical order. Thus, the realistic Animal Style may belong to a group akin to the Ordos people, but it need not necessarily have been a recent mode — an »episode» so to speak. Besides, Shang ornamentation does not cover all objects; for example, rings of nephrite are often without décor. Perhaps it is possible here too to distinguish several layers of tradition.

But how does the knowledge of the Karasuk migration affect our problem?

It does not mean a settlement of the question as to whether the Animal Style originated in Ordos or in An-yang or elsewhere. Only the usual way of deriving these Animal Style elements from the northern forests over the Minusinsk Basin is barred. Firstly, they are completely absent in Minusinsk during Andronovo time, and secondly, the general »current of culture» moves in the opposite direction. It is incomprehensible that a single element should have floated upstream.

Consequently, the Animal Style of the south is to be treated as independent so long as no derivation can be affirmed.

But can, vice versa, the Animal Style of the north be totally derived from the south — for example, all the knives with animal terminals?

I do not believe that to be possible, but I should like to demonstrate the interweaving of themes from the south with the inheritance of the forests in some famous objects: the bronze knives of Seima and Turbino.<sup>2)</sup> (Pl. XV:2, 3). These knives have already been published in the West in complete detail by Tallgren. They are quite isolated in their cultural surroundings, not in their figural ornamentation but in their structure. Typologically they belong to the group of heavy curved knives with the points slightly curved back. Kiselev, however, sees a special similarity between these knives and those of An-yang which he studied in Moscow in 1940. It is certain that the relations with the Far East are more convincing than those with the usual types from the Minusinsk region. Naturally, such a parallel over 4000 km. as the crow flies is somewhat suspect. But we know related specimens, bridging the gap between the An-yang and Seima cultures, such as the knife in the museum of Irkutsk (Pl. XV:4). It is a surprising fact, moreover, that the Seima inventory contains a series of objects which indicate a connection with the material especially from An-yang published by Karlgren, in 1945, for example, socketed celts without lugs and the very typical spear-heads.<sup>3)</sup> Many years ago Gorodtsov had already considered the possibility of an eastern derivation

<sup>1)</sup> Rudenko 1948, p. 59.

<sup>2)</sup> Tallgren 1938, p. 117 and p. 121. But he believed them to be nearer to Andronovo.

<sup>3)</sup> Kiselev 1949, p. 86: »The celts found at An-yang resemble the Seima types, especially their Transuralic variant . . . The same I can state of the spear-heads.«

of these forms. What this means more precisely must be shown by further investigation. His standpoint, however, has not yet completely lost its importance.<sup>1)</sup> We have another indication that far-reaching commercial relations existed, namely, the rings of »white nephrite». They are met with in Seima. We know them from the forest steppes of Western Siberia. They belong to the ornaments of the dead in the Glazkovo graves of Cisbaikalia. Kiselev declares that he has seen similar specimens from An-yang in the Chinese Exhibition. The occurrence of this sort of nephrite is extraordinarily rare. The Russian scholars are aware of only three places within their own territory. Of these, the Carpathians and Tadzhikistan may be left out of consideration here, so that only one site is left. This is situated on the Irkut river. Here this stone ware was sought for and dug up already in prehistoric times. The occurrence of this special material seems to be of about the same period in China as that of Seima and Glazkovo. Hence it is quite possible that there existed a far-reaching trade.<sup>2)</sup> In this connection it is of importance that no similar finds were made in the western steppes. The trade-route goes apparently from China to Baikalia, and farther west along the forest steppe, which must have seemed safer, in the mixed zone of Mongoloids and Europoids, avoiding the regions where the Scytho-Sarmatic world was just arising at that time. The community of the northern forest steppes is probably reflected in the many connections in the way of languages and objects which we call Ural-Altaic.

In spite of this, the animal figures on the knives cannot be explained as being of Chinese origin. We also know them on daggers of a completely western type,<sup>3)</sup> and, finally, among the finds on the Uralic moors.<sup>4)</sup> We possess numerous realistic animal carvings; such works of art are to be found across the whole Taiga of Siberia, not in wood, of course, which has decayed, but in bone-carvings. They are of an almost immeasurable age, reaching, possibly, even as far as the Palaeolithic. Okladnikov publishes, for example, a beautiful piece from the Kitoi stage of Cisbaikalia which is considerably older than all these cultural relations.<sup>5)</sup>

We are now in the surprising situation of having found not one root only of the Animal Style, but two at the same time. The southern influence enters well-prepared ground here.

We could find some assistance in this difficult position by supposing an earlier »migration» or diffusion from the Baikal region, which could have brought these Animal Style elements to China. From there they would have been returned with a superior metallurgy. But this is mere guesswork.

It is almost a consoling thought that the situation in the Far West is also intricate.

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<sup>1)</sup> Chernetsov 1947, p. 65—66.

<sup>2)</sup> Kiselev 1949, p. 86. I am merely giving Kiselev's explanations; it need only be observed that, for example, Andersson 1943, p. 263, is unknown to him.

<sup>3)</sup> Cf. Tallgren 1916, p. 11 fig. 5 c.

<sup>4)</sup> Cf. Eding 1940.

<sup>5)</sup> Kiselev 1949, p. 103.

Here, too, we know of a southern Scythic Animal Style besides the northern art of carving in the forests, without being able to derive the one from the other. But in Ananino, for example, we have an unmistakable combination of both tendencies.<sup>1)</sup>

If we now consider that it is also impossible to derive the Tagar style from the Scythian, or vice versa, then we must be prepared to accept the fact that Animal Styles cannot be beaded like the pearls of a necklace. At any rate, there exists a southern world of Animal Style and a northern one, and it makes little difference whether the southern has been developed in the region of Ordos or of An-yang.

So far I have intentionally abstained from any attempt at absolute dating. The argumental force of the Karasuk Migration is even stronger when we consider that it is not based thereon. But the general chronological structure is fairly evident.<sup>2)</sup> It is supported, firstly, by the relations with the Late Andronovo of the West, which is parallel to the Khvalinsk culture as well as to the »Cimmeric» culture of the west, and, besides these, by the older cemetery of Tomsk. The latter shows in a convincing way that late Karasuk types together with late Seima forms and early Tagar forms belong to the same period.<sup>3)</sup> We know, moreover, that the Karasuk culture must have been earlier and even have already ended when the Maiemirsk finds of the Altai begin which give evidence of relations with the Scythians. The presence of beads made of white paste, such as are known from the latest Glazkovo graves, fits well into this scheme. These Glazkovo beads have chronological relations with Seima (on account of the nephrite rings).

The Karasuk complex must have passed through a long period of development before the forms of the older cemetery of Tomsk could come into existence (about 1000 B. C.). Kiselev therefore feels justified in assuming a considerably earlier date for the beginning of the Karasuk culture.

However, as he also bases his chronology on a wrong dating of An-yang (he is acquainted neither with Karlgren nor Ch'en Meng-chia),<sup>4)</sup> the beginning would be about 100 years later, i. e. about 1100 B. C. It would, however, be better to admit that the beginning of Karasuk time cannot yet be fixed precisely to a century. We must be content with the indication that in the dating of 1000—700 B. C., as proposed in older Russian treatises, the beginning is put rather too low.

There is still one interesting question to be considered: what became of the relations between North China and Minusinsk afterwards?

As we have already mentioned above, the relations of China with the North were not confined to this migration, which only followed a previously existing

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<sup>1)</sup> Notice on Eding's treatise in KS XII pp. 168—178, especially pp. 177—178.

<sup>2)</sup> Cf. Kiselev 1949, pp. 104—108 for a detailed discussion.

<sup>3)</sup> For the dating of Seima cf. Tallgren 1937 c, pp. 42—45. This article would have been very useful to Loehr. 1949 a, p. 131: »They belong to the first half of the second millennium.» Cf. also Tallgren 1915 a.

<sup>4)</sup> Cit. by Loehr 1949 a.

»cultural current». Nor did this cease in later time, but another fundamental change took place.

Between the Karasuk culture and its western neighbours there was a racial frontier, which probably also corresponded to a linguistic one. Therefore the invasion of the far more specialized Karasuk forms met with remarkable resistance. In Tagar time these racial boundaries no longer existed. The Minusinsk Basin again became part of the vast region of Europoid races, though the cultural structure was not subjected to any repeated change (Pl. XVI).

This unity with the West becomes manifest, especially, in strong relations with the Pontic Scythians. But it would be impossible to speak of an absolute dependence of the one region upon the other. Besides the many Scythian arrow-heads, in Minusinsk the quite peculiar pick, which has no Scythian counterpart, belongs to the equipment of the warrior. Even in the Animal Style strong differences can be found. The archaic Scythians prefer certain animals of the South, for example, lions, which are, naturally, not to be found in Minusinsk. Social forms may have been common to both, when the warrior class became consolidated. A real caste of warriors arises competing even with far-distant groups, ready to enter service also under foreign command. The Animal Style becomes the special style of this caste.<sup>1)</sup> The Ordos province, too, belongs to its territory. But the relations between Ordos and the Far West are often stronger than those between Ordos and Minusinsk in particular.

In spite of this apparent uniformity of the Scythian world, immense changes are effected. Naturally, these cannot be recognised in the metal inventory, but only in burial-sites and in anthropological material. By this time the zones between Transbaikalia, Northern Mongolia and Tuva have become united to form a cultural province which is characterised by the »stone tombs«.<sup>2)</sup> In this cultural province are found broad-faced Siberian Mongoloids. The Mongoloid elements which probably belong to the Turks and Mongols, as we now know, go well together with the idea of »knighthood«. (Cf. for example in the Altai, where in the II. Pazyryk Kurgan, according to the customary rite of interment, a »Tungide« prince is buried beside a »Europoid« queen).<sup>3)</sup> These invaders become more and more powerful in the Altai, occupying the whole region between Minusinsk and Ordos. We may very well suppose that they have sealed the fate of the »Sinides« in Mongolia and in the North Chinese borderland.<sup>4)</sup> The Huns coming from still further North put the finishing touches to this process of »Turkization«.<sup>5)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> There already exist craftsmen (with trade-marks and a technique, for example, in the reproduction of the ears etc.).

<sup>2)</sup> Kiselev 1947, p. 362—364, Sosnovskii 1940 and 1941.

<sup>3)</sup> Rudenko 1948; pl. XXIX.

<sup>4)</sup> This explains why in Han time almost identical forms exist in the Ordos region and in Transbaikalia, i. e. the old home of the »Tungides«; cf. Werner 1934.

<sup>5)</sup> Debets 1948, p. 123 points out that the skulls in the tombs of the Huns belong to a type which is only known from the upper Lena, where similar forms of pottery have also been found.

At any rate, we are justified to-day in accepting the idea that the Ordos bronzes do not belong to a homogeneous people. They represent, moreover, a continued metallurgical tradition, during the epoch of which an immense revolution took place, namely, the displacement of the earlier sheep-raising nomads by equestrian warriors of a character much more dangerous to the Chinese.

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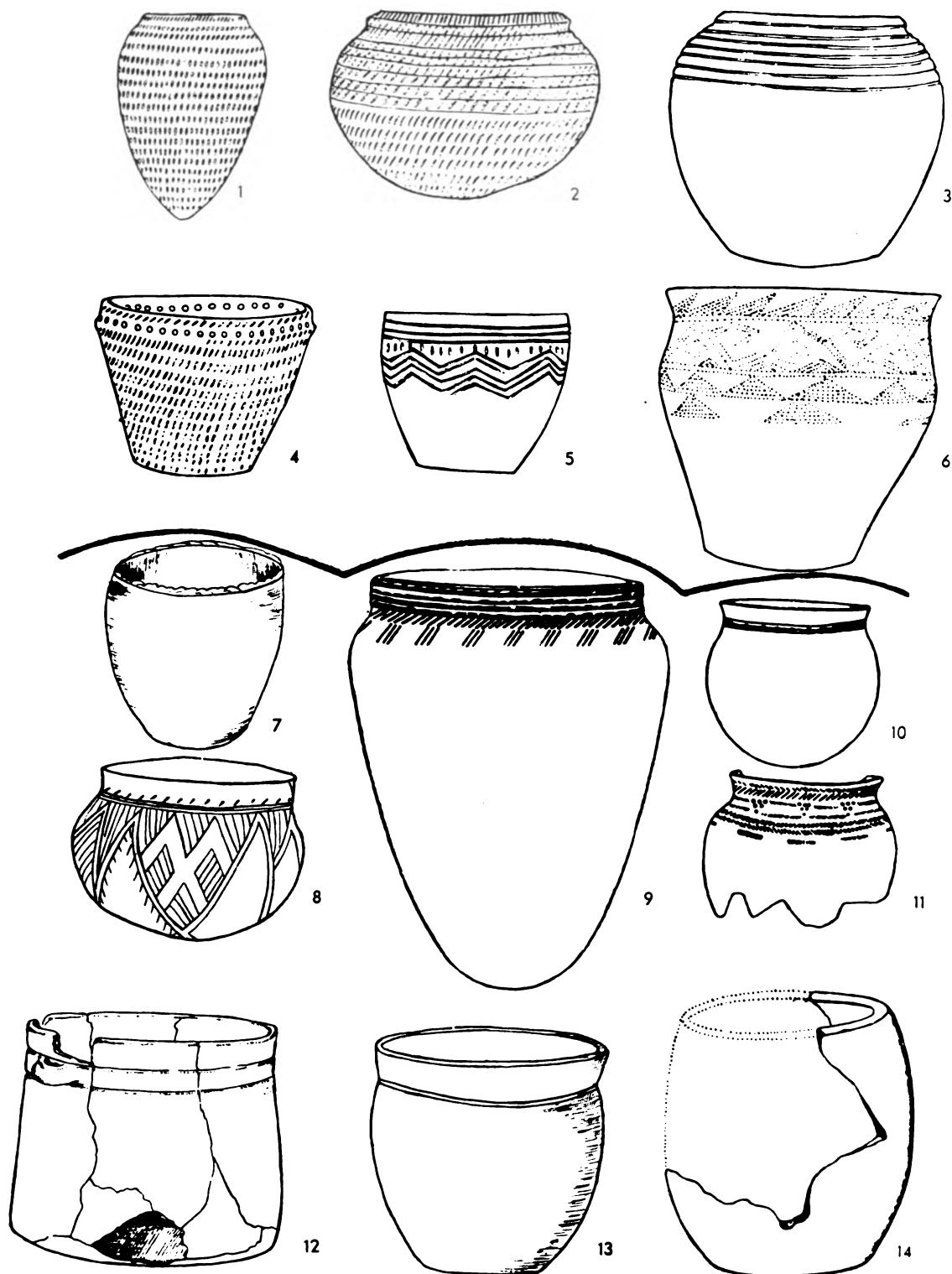
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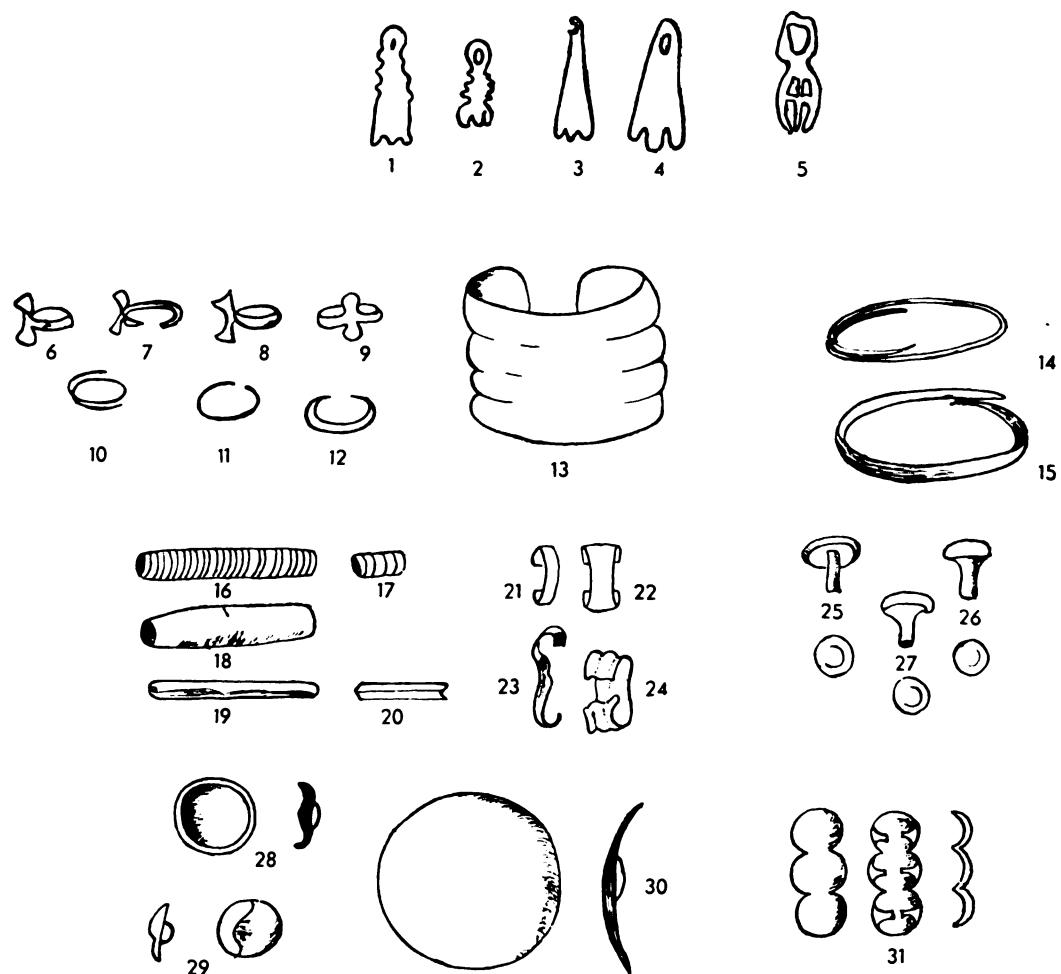
Abbreviations according to Sovetskaiia Arkheologiiia and Sovetskaiia Etnografiia.

Some of the treatises cited were not accessible in Vienna. I could only study them during a short journey abroad.



Evolutionary scheme of Minusinsk pottery from Afanasievo to Late Karasuk/Tagar:

1—3 basic forms of Afanasievo; 4—6 basic forms of Andronovo; 7—11 basic forms of Karasuk (7 with Andronovo features, 11 with Afanasievo features); 12 Karasuk vessel with southeastern features (isolated); 13—14 late Karasuk/Tagar forms. Drawings after Komarova, Kiselev and Lipskii.



Characteristic metal ornaments of the Karasuk complex.

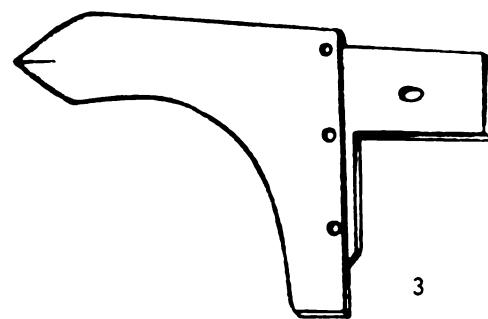
1—5 pediform pendants: 1—4 Minusinsk types, 5 related type of Northern Mongolia; 6—12 fingerrings and «curved wires»; 13—15 bracelets; 16—20 hollow tubes; 21—24 clasps; 25—27 rivets; 28—30 round buttons; 31 ornament of spheroid segments. Drawings after Kiselev 1949, Gaul 1943 (Teploukhov), and Lipskii 1949.



1

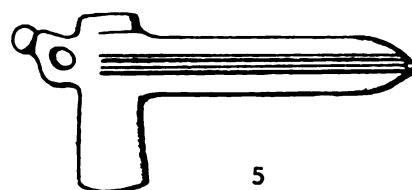


2



4

3



5

Karasuk weapons and tools.

1 celt of the Beia river (Kiselev 1949); 2 celt of Abakan (Lipskii 1949); 3—5 evolutionary scheme of the pick after Kiselev (rather dubious).

Andronovo .....



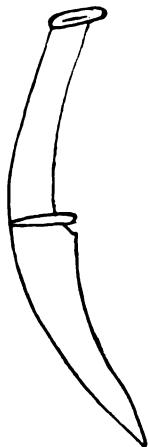
Karasuk ...



1



2



3

Late Karasuk .....



4



5



8

Tagar .....

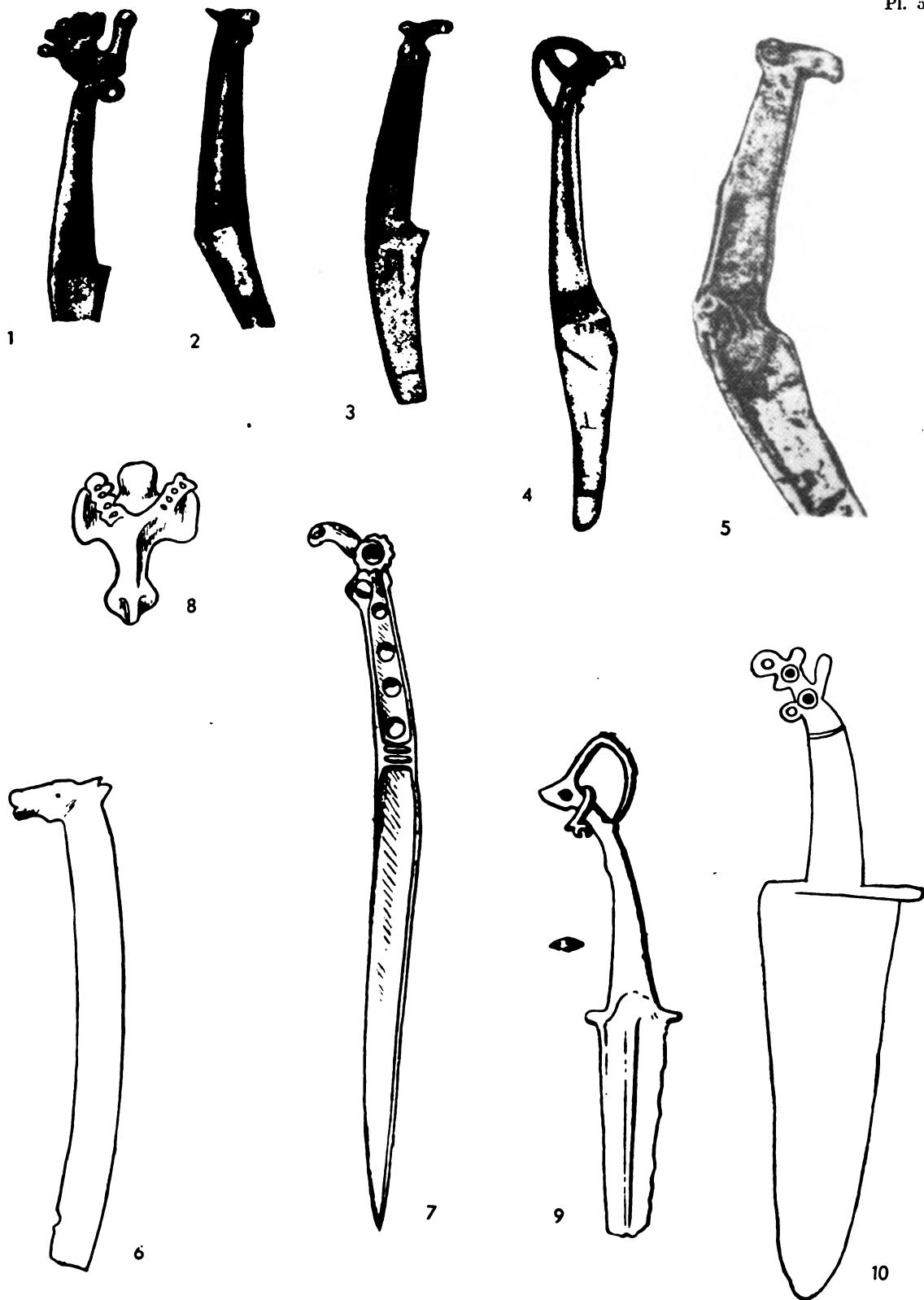
6



7

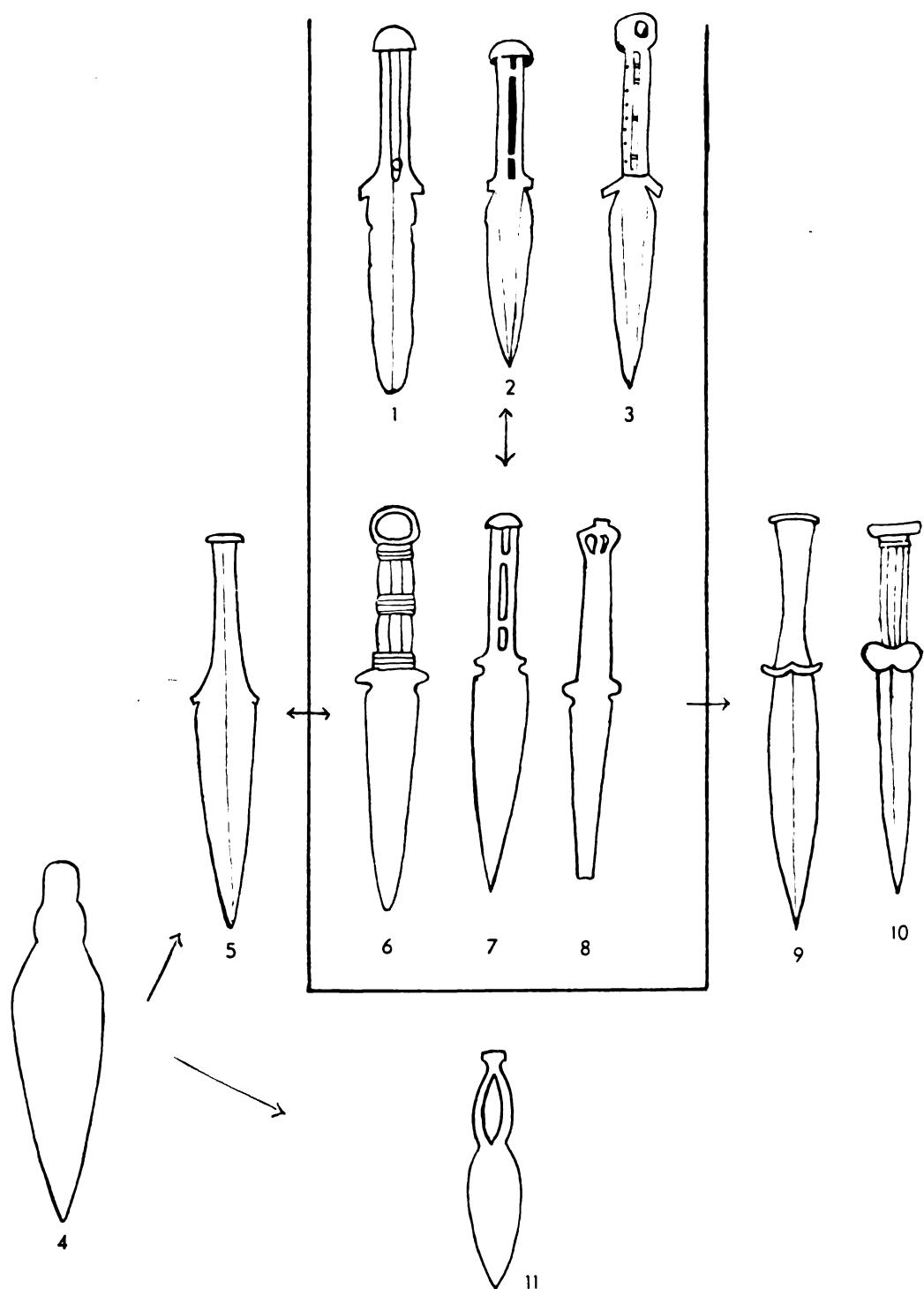
Evolutionary scheme of knives from Andronovo to Tagar.

Drawings after Tallgren, Collection Tovostine pl. V.



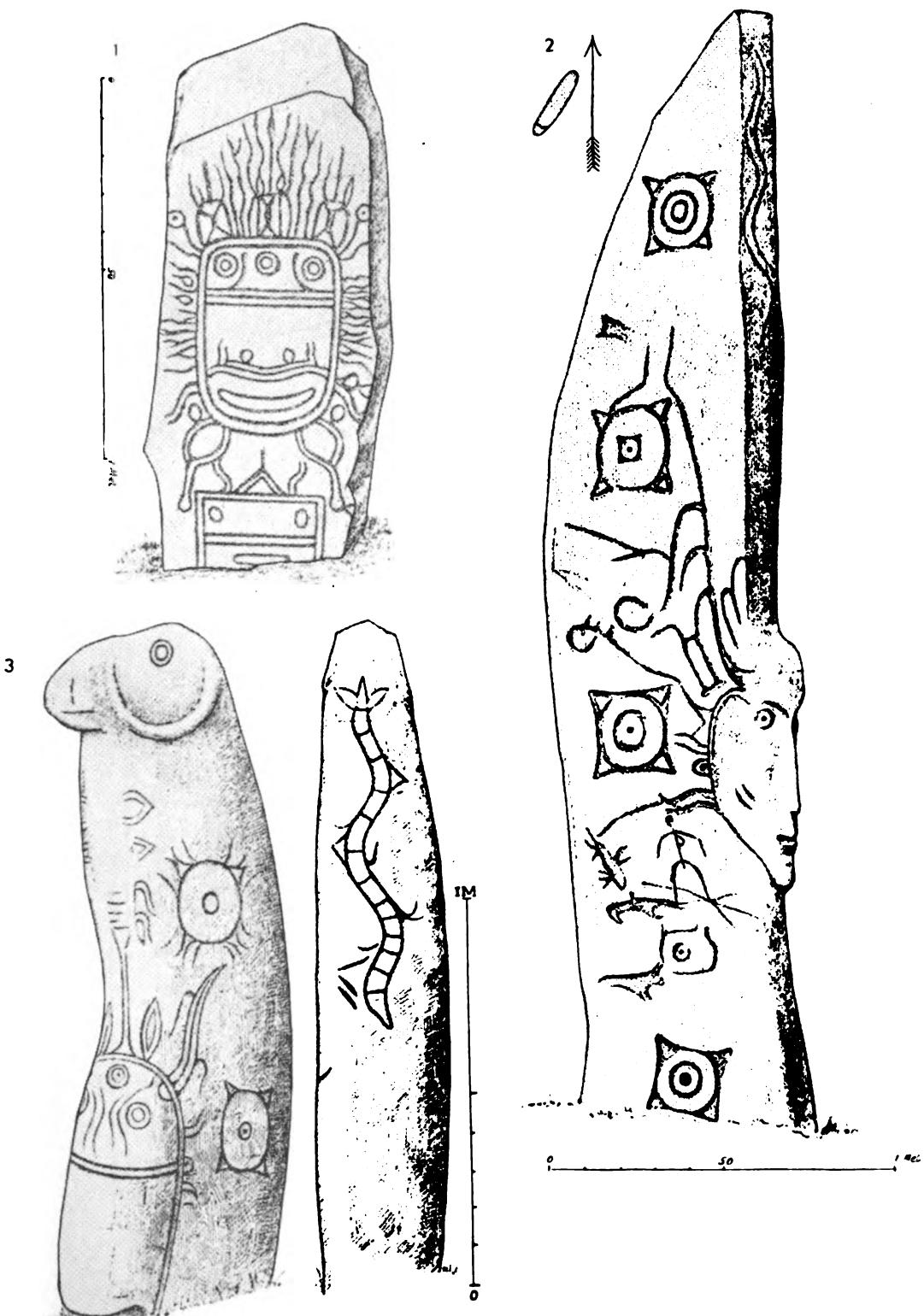
Knives and daggers with animal heads.

1—5 stray finds of the Minusinsk Basin (Karasuk); 6 stray find of the Minusinsk Basin (Late Karasuk/Tagar); 7 burial find near Abakan (Minusinsk), length (of the preserved part) 31.5 cm. (originally 35 cm.), breadth 3 cm. (Karasuk); 8 head terminal of 7; 9—10 animal head daggers. Eastern sub-group (not Minusinsk), 9 Koto Köl, 10 An-yang. 1—5 after Kiselev 1949, 6 and 10 after Karlgren 1945, 7—8 after Lipskii 1949.



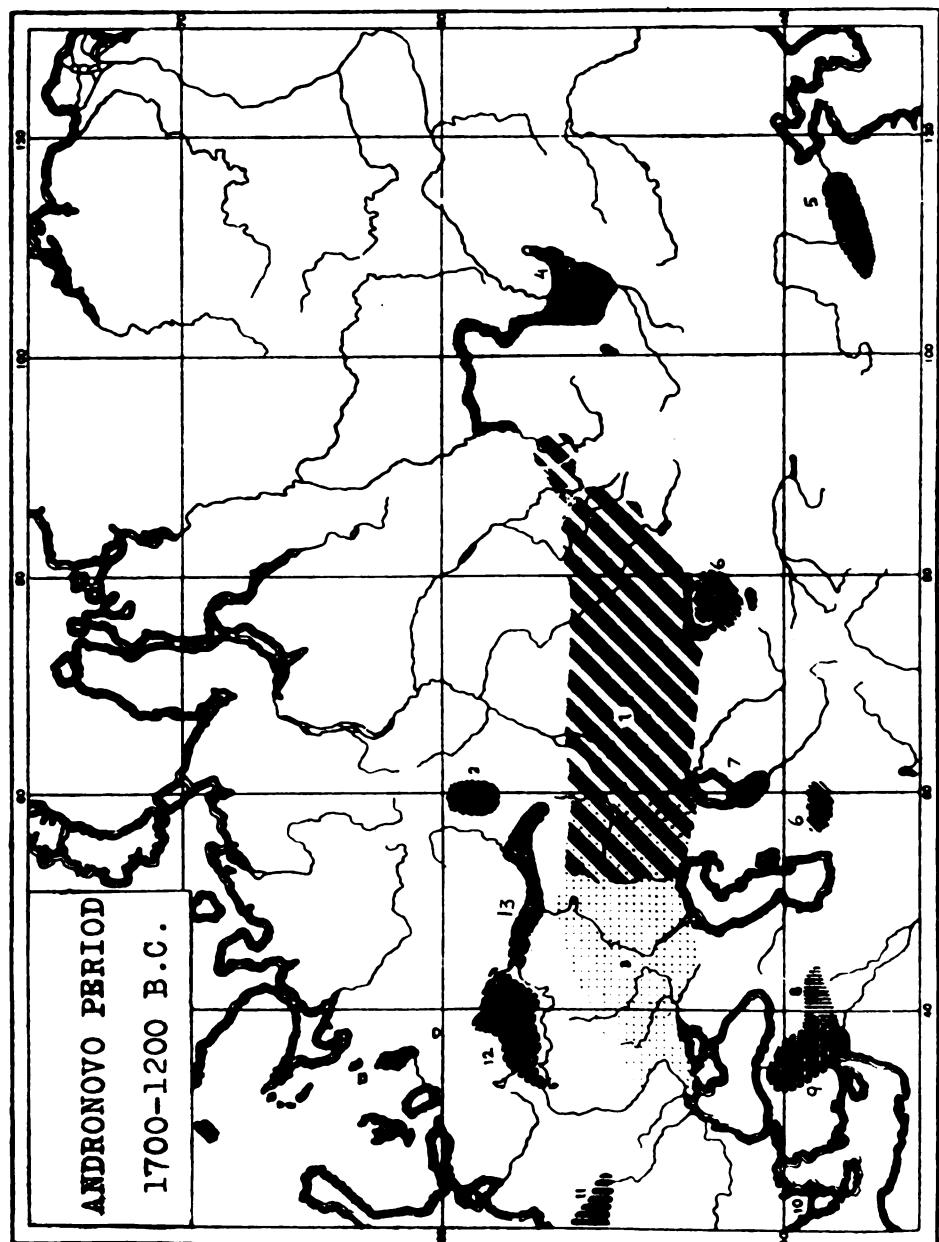
Relations between eastern and western dagger forms.

1—3 Ordos; 4 Andronovo type; 5 transitional form Andronovo/Karasuk? Minusinsk; 6—8 Karasuk. Minusinsk basin; 9—10 Tagar daggers, Minusinsk basin; 11 late Andronovo of the West. 1—3 after Loehr 1949 b, 4, 5, 11 after Tallgren, 6—10 after Kiselev.

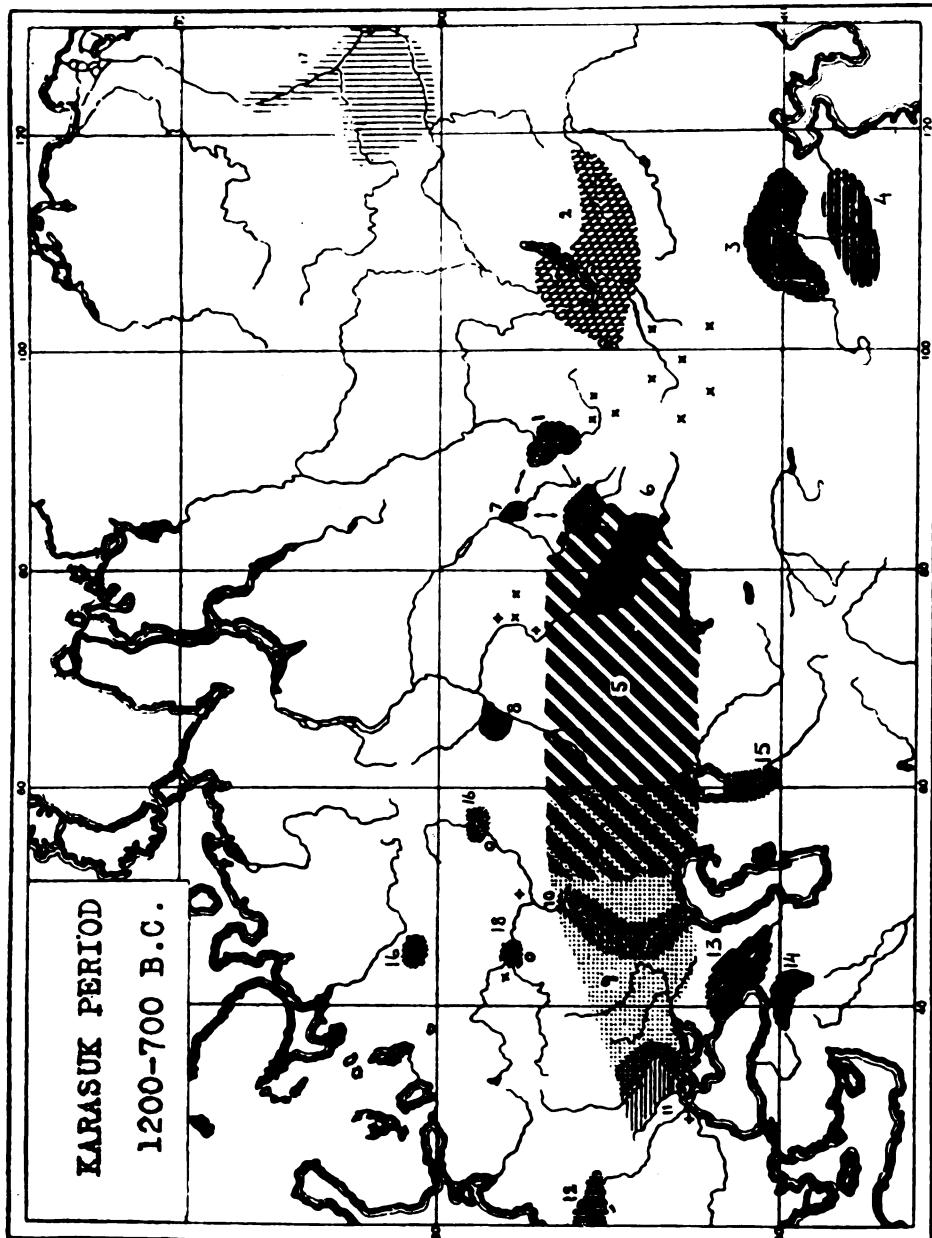


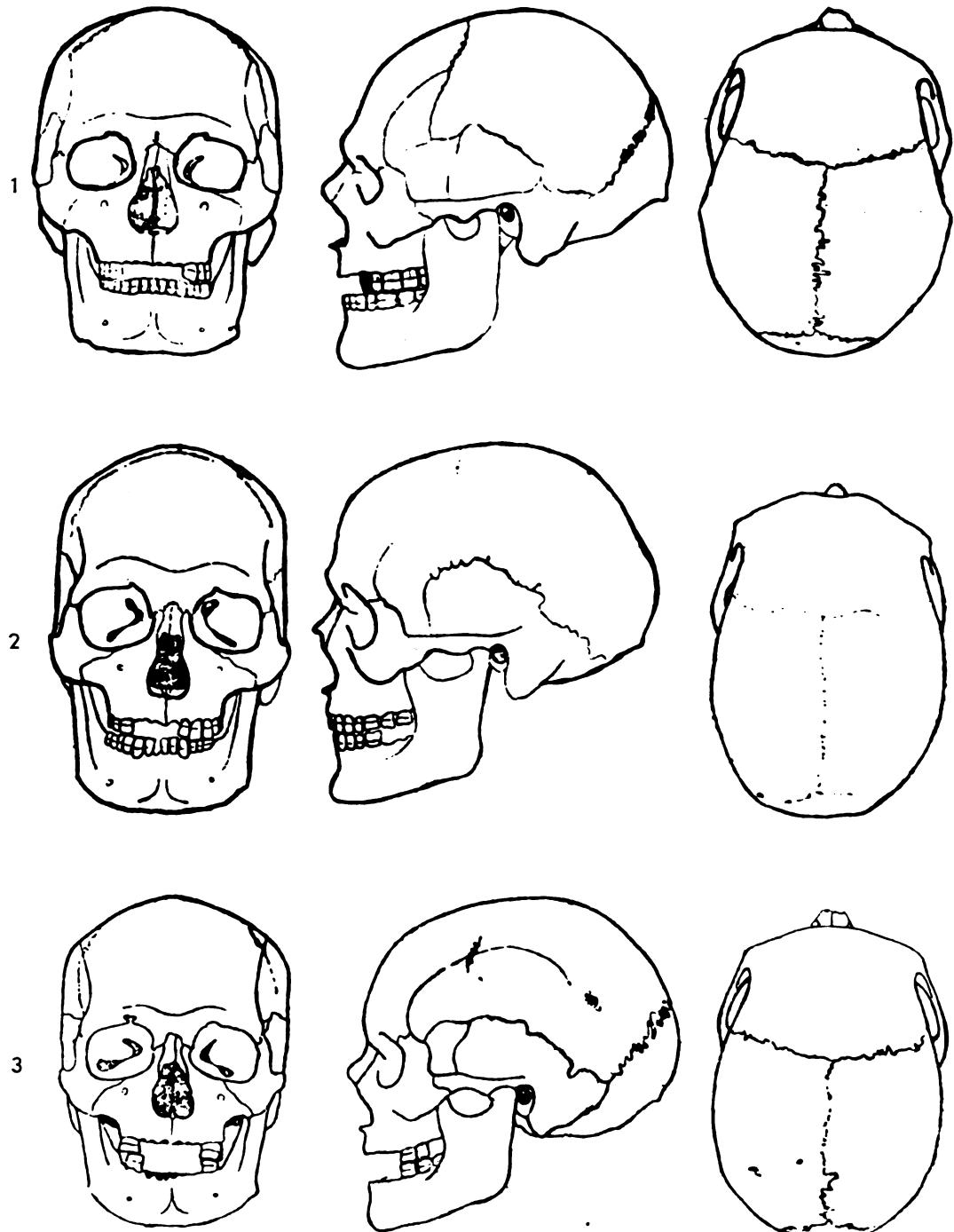
Typical Karasuk steles.

1 Tasmin stone I; 2 Tasmin stone II; 3 Chamak stone b (after Appelgren-Kivalo).



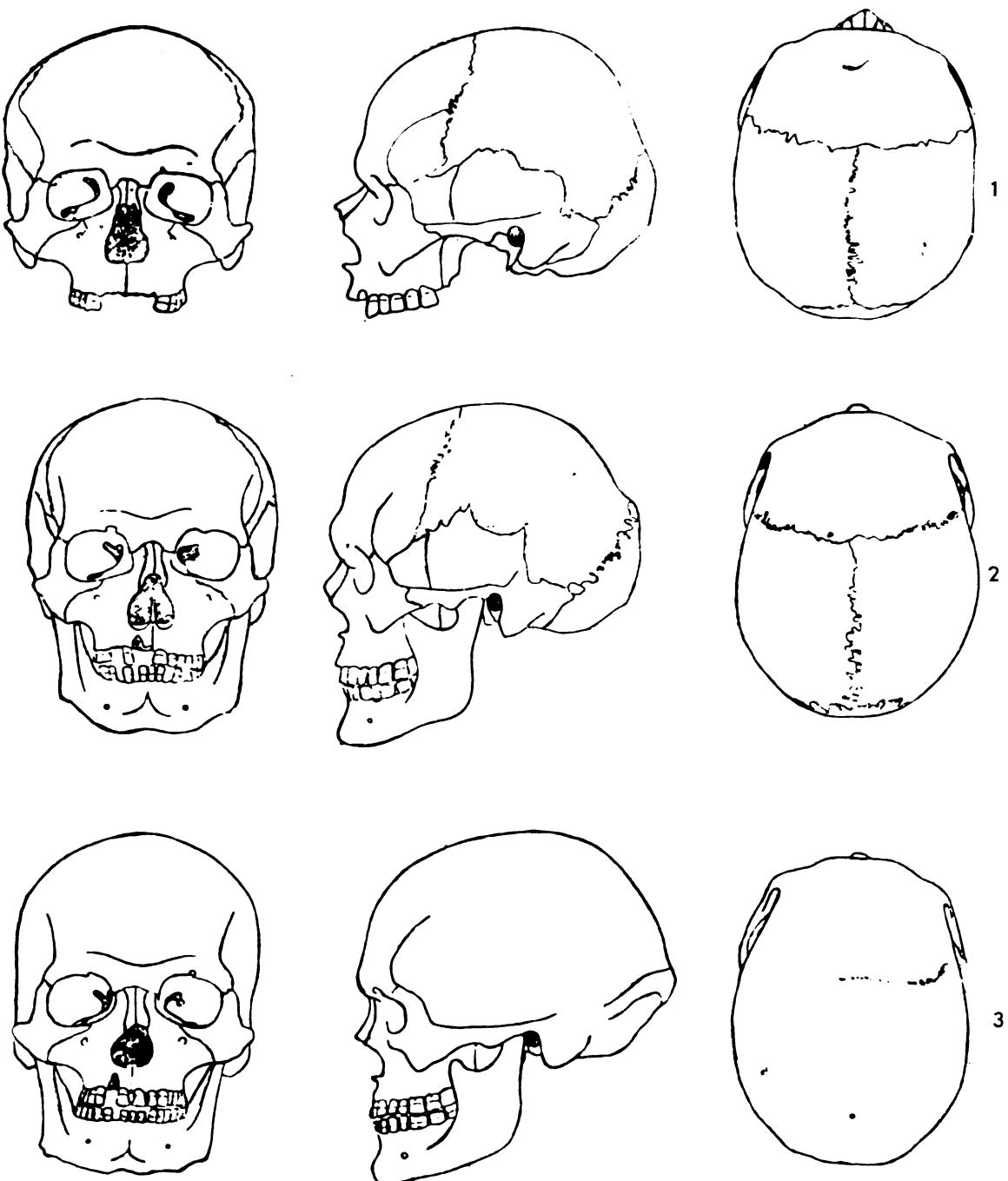
1. Andronovo tribes.
2. Shigir tribes.
3. Tribes with 'timber graves'.
4. Glazkovo tribes.
5. Shang-Yin territory.
6. Sites with Andronovo pottery.
7. Tazabagiab tribes.
8. Assyria.
9. Mykenae.
10. Aunyetsits tribes.
12. Fatianovo tribes.
13. Hittites. After Kiselev 1949.





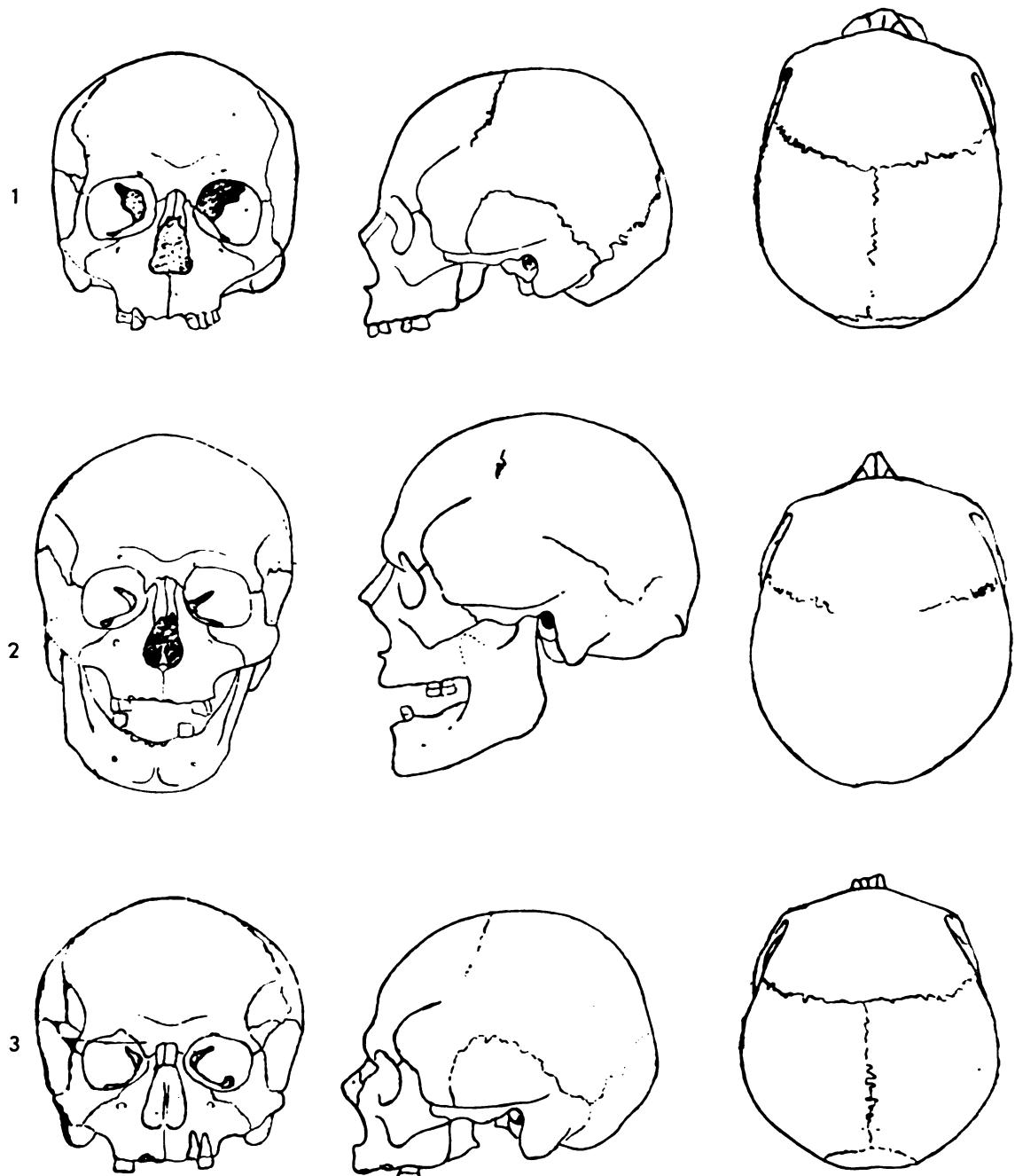
Skulls of Afanasievo burial sites (after Debets 1948).

1. Male skull of Kuroti II kurgan 9 burial 6 (Altai), excavated by Kiselev 1937, GMA Nr. 8559.
2. Male skull of IAr-ulagan burial 1, excavated by Rudenko GEM, drawings by M. N. Komarova.
3. Male skull of Ust Tes (Minus. area) Kurgan 10 burial II, excavation by Kiselev 1932, GMA Nr. 8219.



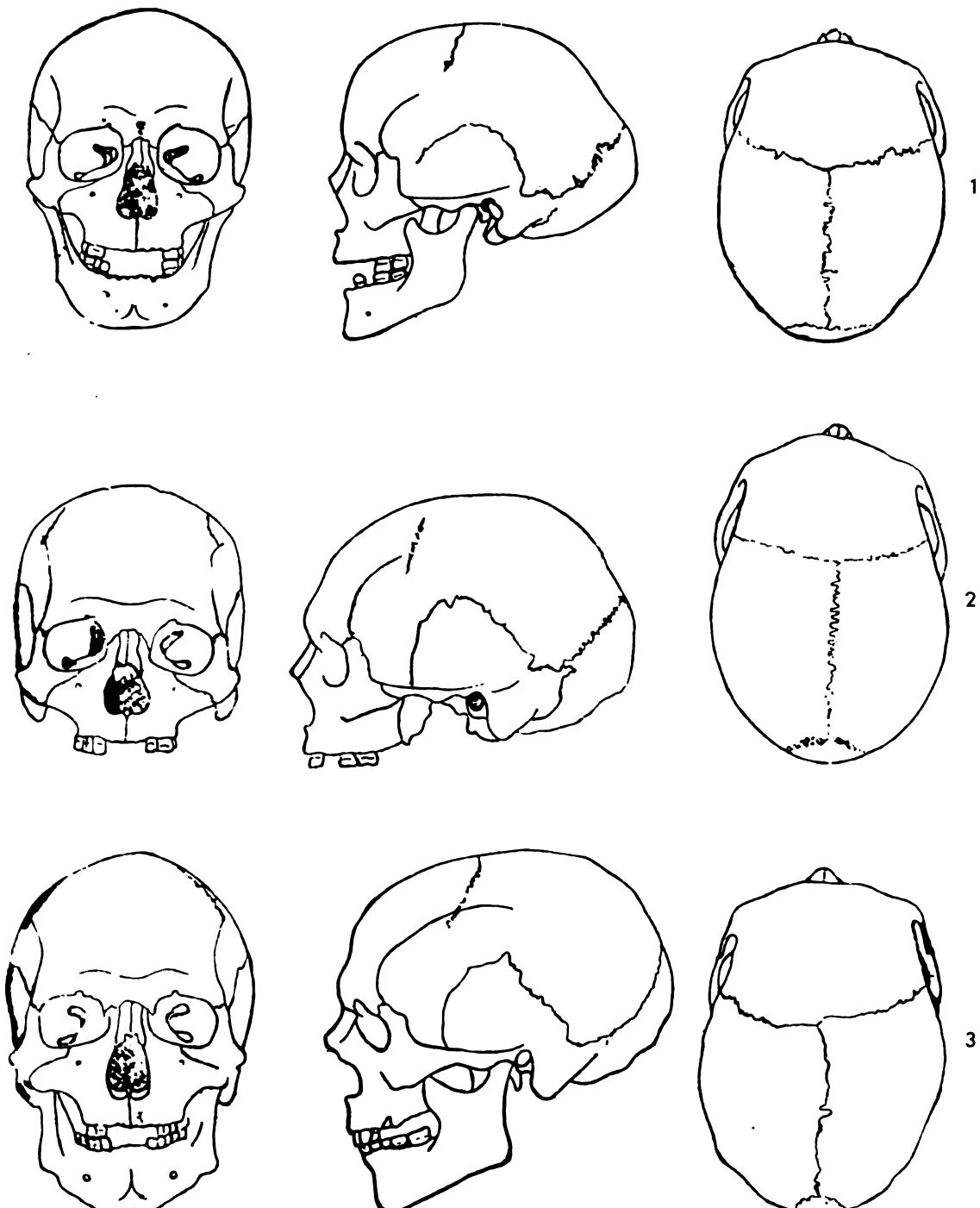
Skulls of Andronovo burial sites (after Debets 1948).

1. Male skull of Ust IERba (Minusinsk area) cemetery 2 burial 2, excavated by Kiselev, GMA Nr. 7879.
2. Male skull of Orak (Minusinsk area) cemetery 22 a, excavated by Sosnovskii, MAE Nr. 3390—8.
3. Male skull of Orak (Minusinsk area) cemetery 16, excavated by Sosnovskii, MAE Nr. 3390—6.



Skulls of Karasuk burial sites (after Debets 1948).

1. Female skull of Ust IErba (Minusinsk area) cemet. 26 burial 3, excavated by Kiselev 1932, GMA Nr. 7890.
2. Male skull of Chernovo village (Minusinsk area) cemet. 28, excavated by Sosnovskii 1929, MAE Nr. 4062—3.
3. Male skull of Chernovo village (Minusinsk area) cemet. 18, excavated by Sosnovskii 1929, MAE Nr. 4062—2.



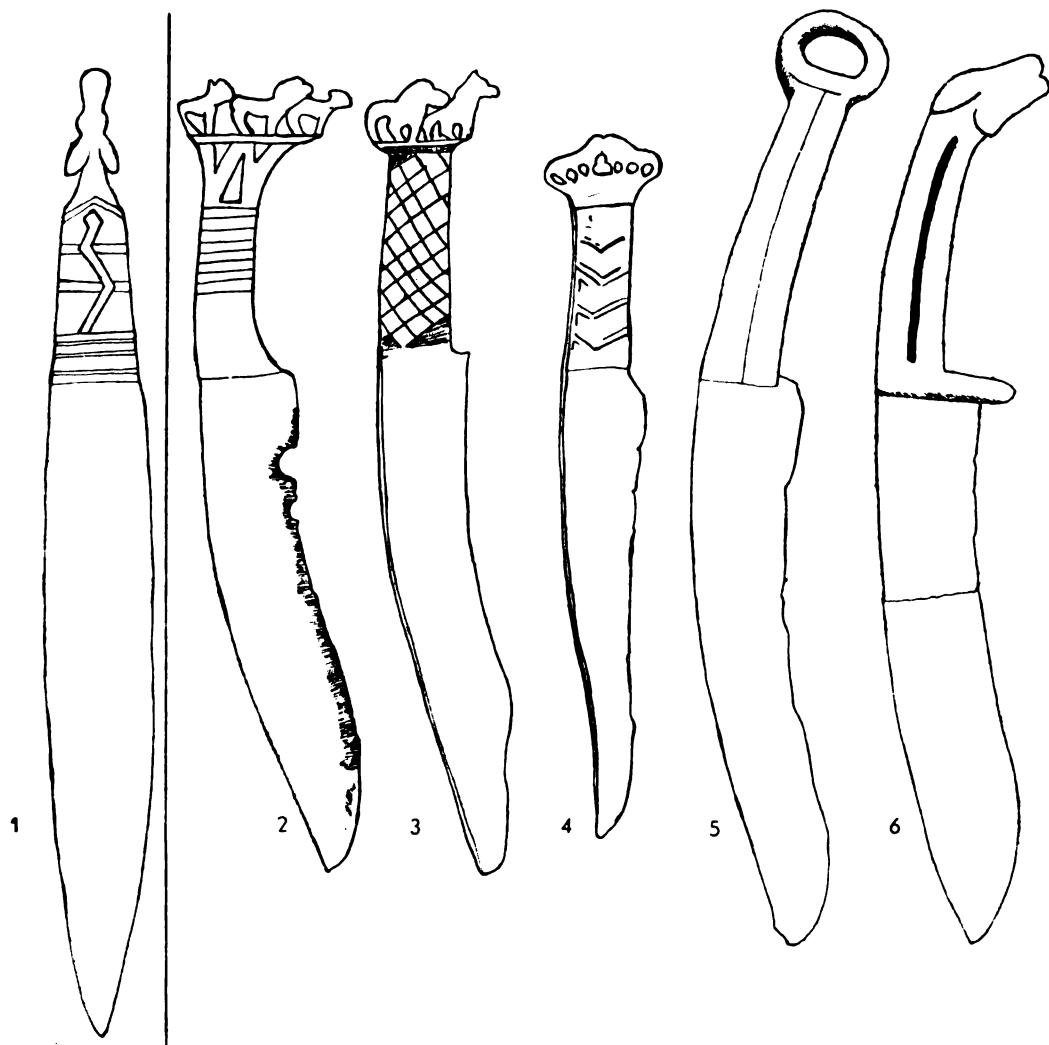
Skulls of Tagar kurgans (I) = (early Tagar), after Debets 1948.

1. Female skull near Ust IERba village (Minusinsk area) kurg. 2 bur. 2, excavated by Kiselev 1932, GMA Nr. 7871.
2. Male skull near Ust IERba (Minusinsk area) kurg. 5 bur. 1, excavated by Kiselev 1932, GMA Nr. 7875.
3. Male skull of kurgan 4 near Krivinskoe (Minusinsk area), excavated by Kiselev, GMA Nr. 8456.

## Average Cranial Measurements of the Minusinsk Basin.

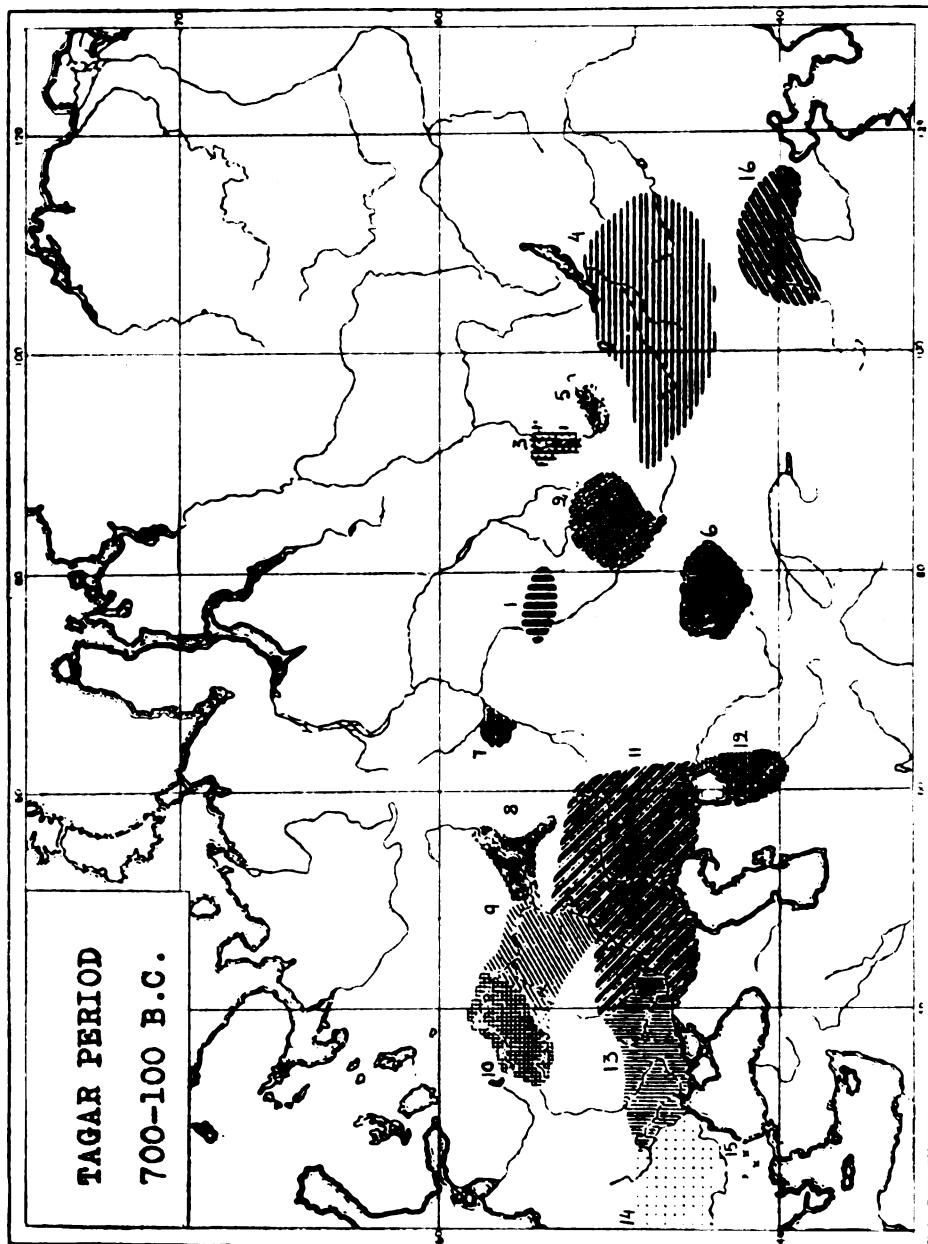
after Debets 1948

Measurements accord. to Martin	Afanasievo			Andronovo			Karasuk			Tagar I		
	♂	♀	♂	♂	♀	♂	♂	♀	♂	♂	♀	♂
1 . . . . .	194.6 (9)	181.4 (10)	187.2 (22)	178.1 (9)	180.6 (21)	172.9 (25)	186.4 (84)	179.1 (29)				
8 . . . . .	144.3 (8)	135.0 (7)	145.0 (22)	142.5 (9)	144.6 (21)	142.5 (25)	142.1 (83)	136.8 (30)				
17 . . . . .	134.3 (7)	131.7 (6)	138.3 (21)	131.3 (9)	131.2 (16)	124.5 (20)	135.0 (68)	129.3 (25)				
5 . . . . .	104.2 (5)	101.9 (6)	105.6 (21)	99.3 (9)	101.2 (15)	97.3 (18)	103.9 (66)	98.6 (25)				
9 . . . . .	101.5 (11)	97.9 (10)	101.1 (22)	96.3 (10)	96.5 (20)	97.4 (26)	99.1 (86)	96.4 (30)				
8: 1 . . . . .	74.5 (8)	74.2 (14)	78.1 (22)	80.3 (9)	80.0 (21)	82.6 (25)	76.4 (83)	76.3 (29)				
17: 1 . . . . .	69.8 (6)	72.5 (6)	73.9 (20)	73.8 (9)	72.7 (16)	72.4 (20)	72.8 (67)	72.1 (25)				
17: 8 . . . . .	92.7 (6)	97.6 (6)	94.6 (20)	92.3 (9)	91.0 (16)	86.6 (20)	95.0 (67)	94.4 (25)				
9: 8 . . . . .	71.0 (8)	73.7 (7)	69.4 (22)	68.2 (9)	66.8 (20)	68.1 (25)	69.9 (82)	70.4 (29)				
40 . . . . .	101.8 (4)	97.0 (6)	101.4 (18)	97.0 (7)	98.6 (15)	97.4 (17)	100.3 (59)	97.3 (25)				
45 . . . . .	136.8 (5)	132.9 (7)	141.9 (20)	129.0 (8)	136.4 (18)	130.1 (23)	137.8 (72)	130.2 (30)				
48 . . . . .	69.6 (7)	67.0 (7)	68.9 (19)	67.4 (9)	74.8 (19)	68.4 (23)	71.8 (74)	69.6 (31)				
40: 5 . . . . .	98.3 (4)	98.0 (6)	96.2 (18)	98.1 (7)	97.8 (12)	99.6 (17)	96.8 (59)	98.8 (25)				
48: 45 . . . . .	51.0 (5)	50.7 (7)	48.3 (18)	52.0 (7)	54.7 (17)	52.1 (21)	52.2 (68)	53.3 (29)				
54: 55 . . . . .	50.9 (7)	51.3 (6)	51.2 (20)	47.8 (9)	47.4 (19)	50.3 (24)	48.1 (78)	48.0 (31)				
52: 51 a . . . . .	79.6 (8)	83.1 (6)	76.4 (20)	84.9 (10)	85.5 (19)	83.0 (24)	81.5 (78)	85.5 (31)				
32 . . . . .	77.5 (5)	83.3 (6)	84.4 (18)	89.9 (7)	83.1 (17)	83.8 (19)	82.5 (68)	84.0 (29)				
72 . . . . .	85.0 (5)	85.2 (6)	85.7 (17)	86.2 (6)	84.8 (16)	85.0 (18)	86.0 (65)	85.0 (30)				
75 (1) . . . . .	31.0 (6)	29.2 (6)	32.6 (16)	25.6 (7)	27.2 (15)	26.5 (16)	30.7 (64)	25.2 (27)				
arc. supercil (1—6) a. Broca . . .	4.15 (13)	2.89 (10)	4.15 (20)	2.13 (8)	3.15 (20)	2.36 (22)	3.82 (85)	2.19 (32)				
Fossa canina (0—4) . . . . .	2.17 (6)	1.86 (6)	2.80 (18)	2.13 (8)	2.50 (18)	2.44 (18)	2.73 (77)	2.84 (31)				
Spina nasalis ant. (1—5) . . . . .	2.67 (9)	2.80 (5)	3.22 (18)	2.57 (7)	3.14 (14)	2.67 (15)	3.45 (67)	2.57 (28)				
Pentagonoides . . . . .	22 (2)	22 (2)	—	57 (4)	—	13 (3)	12.0 (10)	30.0 (9)				
Ovoides . . . . .	67 (6)	22 (2)	25 (5)	—	12 (2)	4 (1)	10.9 (9)	20.0 (6)				
<i>Ellipsoïdes</i> . . . . .	11 (1)	56 (5)	35 (7)	—	29 (5)	4 (1)	61.5 (51)	36.7 (11)				
<i>Eurypentagonoides</i> . . . . .	—	—	15 (3)	14 (1)	18 (3)	18 (4)	6.0 (5)	3.3 (1)				
<i>Sphenoides</i> . . . . .	—	—	10 (2)	29 (2)	18 (3)	43 (9)	2.4 (2)	6.7 (2)				
<i>Sphaeroïdes</i> . . . . .	—	—	15 (3)	—	23 (4)	18 (4)	7.2 (6)	3.3 (1)				
<i>Norma</i> . . . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—				
<i>Verteralis</i> . . . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—				
<i>Antropina</i> . . . . .	55 (6)	100 (6)	78 (14)	100 (8)	94.5 (17)	89 (16)	81.6 (62)	90.3 (28)				
<i>Aperturæ</i> . . . . .	45 (5)	—	—	22 (4)	5.5 (1)	5.5 (1)	17.1 (13)	9.7 (2)				
<i>Fossæ praenasales</i> . . . . .	—	—	—	—	5 (5)	—	—	—				
<i>Infantilis</i> . . . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—				
<i>Sulcus praenasalis</i> . . . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—				



Western representatives of the heavy inward-curving knives with animal terminals compared with south-eastern types.

1 Seima dagger (1/2); 2 Seima (1/3); 3—4 Turbino, Irkutsk museum (3 = 1,3); 5—6 An-yang. 1—3 after Tallgren, 4 after Kiselev 1949, 5—6 after Karlgren 1945.



1. Tribes of the Omsk region. 2. Maiemirian tribes. 3. Tagar tribes. 4. Tribes with «stone tombs». 5. Tribes on the upper Yenisei. 6. Tribes of the Balkash region. 7. Tribes of Andreivsk. 8. Ananino tribes. 9. Gorodishche tribes. 10. Diskovo tribes. 11. Savromatian tribes. 12. Khoresm. 13. Scythian tribes. 14. Zone of Scythian influence on the West. 15. Thracian kurgans. 16. Late Bronze Age of North China. After Kiselev 1949.

# AN INTERPRETATION OF THE PORTENTS IN THE TS'IENT-HAN-SHU

BY

*HANS BIELENSTEIN*

The Chinese official histories with their vast amount of information, covering dynasty after dynasty, represent a material that is outstanding in the historiography of the world. On the other hand, it is true that because of the arrangement of these histories the material is not always easily available. Western sinologues have, therefore, sometimes preferred the time-saving method of using the secondhand material of the encyclopedias. Now, interest has become concentrated more and more on the histories themselves, and it is therefore increasingly important to clarify their nature. Under these circumstances I believe I am justified in once more discussing the question of the portents which are so often recorded in these histories. W. Eberhard has already investigated the problems connected with them, basing his researches on the Ch'un-ts'iu and the Ts'ien-Han-shu. H. H. Dubs, again, has examined the portents of the Ts'ien-Han-shu. My intention is not so much to argue against Eberhard and Dubs, as, using the Ts'ien-Han-shu as my source, to try to lift this whole important complex of questions from the plane of theory to the plane of established fact.

The Ts'ien-Han-shu records a great number of portents such as: Solar eclipses, comets, meteors, strange stars by day or night, shooting stars, two moons, earthquakes, avalanches, floods, prolonged rains, the unseasonable occurrence of frost, snow or rain, locusts, grubs, droughts, famines, storms, great fogs, thunderstorms in wintertime, winter without ice, the unseasonable behaviour of plants, monstrosities among animals or people, fires, etc. — Evidently everything could be regarded as a portent which from the Chinese point of view represented a change from the normal condition of things, especially a change for the worse.<sup>1)</sup>

The Ts'ien-Han-shu lists these portents partly in the pen-ki of the different emperors, partly in chapter 27.<sup>2)</sup>

The pen-ki, in their usual annalistic way, record the portents chronologically, for example:

»[32 B. C.] in the ninth month, on [the day] mou-tzu, there was a shooting star

<sup>1)</sup> The auspicious omen forms a special category which is not discussed in the present study.

<sup>2)</sup> 27 A, 27 Ba, 27Bb, 27 Ca, 27 Cb.

whose light lighted up the earth. It was forty or fifty feet (degrees) long, curved and sinuous in the form of a snake, and traversed [the constellation] Tzu-kung.<sup>1)</sup>

»[31 B. C.] in the summer there was a great drought.»<sup>2)</sup>

»[29 B. C.] in the winter, the twelfth month, on [the day] mou-shen, the first day of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun.»<sup>3)</sup>

Chapter 27, on the other hand, a monograph on »The Five Elements« (Wu-hing chi), classifies the portents in different groups and tries to interpret their meaning. This monograph mentions anew many of the portents already recorded in the pen-ki, but it also gives additional facts.

By studying the pen-ki only we might arrive at the conclusion that solar eclipses, earthquakes, floods etc. in themselves were such important events in the eyes of the annalist that he incorporated them in his history. By turning to chapter 27, on the other hand, we find that portents were regarded as warnings to the ruler from Heaven because of bad government or bad personal behaviour, and that the interpreters try to find their specific reasons and consequences. This latter fact does not, of course, exclude the possibility that the list of portents still is a more or less complete record of actual events, only that these events were regarded as warnings from Heaven.

How then are the portents to be interpreted?

The first one to tackle this problem was Eberhard.<sup>4)</sup> He realized that the eclipses of the sun offered a possibility for further research. He says: »Diese Übersicht über die Finsternisse ist nämlich darum von besonderer Bedeutung, weil wir nun hier die Möglichkeit haben, genau mathematisch nachzurechnen, ob und wie die Ereignisse wirklich stattgefunden haben. Bei allen anderen Übersichten über Überschwemmungen, Brände und andere Naturereignisse, die im Wu-hsing chih gegeben werden, ist uns das nicht möglich.»<sup>5)</sup> It is astronomically possible to calculate backwards not only when eclipses have occurred but also their magnitude at different places on the earth. In this way a list can be obtained of all the solar eclipses visible in China during Former Han time. By comparing this astronomical list with the record of eclipses contained in the Ts'ien-Han-shu, Eberhard finds that the two lists do not agree. While most of the eclipses in the Ts'ien-Han shu can be identified with those in the astronomical list, there are in the latter many eclipses which are not recorded by Pan Ku, in spite of the fact that they were often clearly visible. As Eberhard points out, bad weather can hardly account for all these omissions.<sup>6)</sup> He comes to the conclusion that there is a special purpose

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<sup>1)</sup> Dubs, H. H., The history of the Former Han dynasty. Translation (I Baltimore 1938, II Baltimore 1944), II p. 378.

<sup>2)</sup> Ibid. II p. 380.

<sup>3)</sup> Ibid. II p. 382.

<sup>4)</sup> Eberhard, W., Beiträge zur kosmologischen Spekulation der Chinesen der Han-Zeit. Berlin 1933.

<sup>5)</sup> Ibid. p. 86.

<sup>6)</sup> Ibid. p. 90.

behind the recording or non-recording of solar eclipses: »Die Aufzeichnung der Finsternisse sowohl in den Pen chi wie im Wu-hsing chih ist eine tendenziöse, keine wissenschaftliche! . . . Man zeichnete nur auf, um damit eine Kritik zu geben. Darum liess man Finsternisse aus, wenn man nicht tadeln wollte, wenn man mit der Regierung zufrieden war, sie für richtig hielt; darum erfand man Finsternisse, wenn man tadeln wollte, wenn man unzufrieden war und am Himmel eben wider Erwarten keine Finsternis erschien . . . der Beweis ist nicht exakt, er ist angreifbar, aber nach allem spricht doch die Wahrscheinlichkeit für unsere Hypothese.«<sup>1)</sup> In other words, the eclipses, regarded as warnings from Heaven, provided the material for indirect criticism against the Emperor, less dangerous than direct and open criticism. But if eclipses could be used for this purpose, then why not also all the other portents? Eberhard therefore concludes: »Die gewonnenen Ergebnisse können wir aber ohne grosse Gefahr verallgemeinern auch auf die Statistiken der Überschwemmungen, Brände usw., die ja völlig wesensgleich sind. . . . Es sind bewusst tendenziöse Darstellungen« not statistics.<sup>2)</sup>

Eberhard's theory is quite important. If he is right, the portents form a body of material of a very special character. Nevertheless, as Eberhard himself is well aware, he does not give decisive evidence. He compares the two lists of solar eclipses, reaches an interpretation and suggests that this interpretation holds good also for the rest of the material.

In his introductions and appendices to the translated pen-ki of the Ts'ien-Han-shu, Dubs on the whole adopts the theory of Eberhard. He says: »Eclipses were considered as warnings to the ruler from Heaven, so that during an unpopular reign all visible eclipses were recorded, while, during a decade in a »good« reign (the reign of Emperor Wen) no eclipses were recorded, not even a conspicuous comet» (Halley's comet in 163 B. C.).<sup>3)</sup> »In themselves, these droughts, floods, fires, frosts, comets, eclipses, and earthquakes are not improbable; the unusual number recorded in this reign (the reign of Emperor Yuan) is very likely due to the fact that such events were usually somewhat neglected and were emphasized chiefly when people, because of their dissatisfaction with government, expected them.«<sup>4)</sup> »The reporting of portents was thus a means of criticizing the government — one which could hardly be punished or stopped, since portents were supposed to be sent by Heaven, not by men.«<sup>5)</sup>

On the other hand, in one case Dubs suggests another explanation. During six years of Emperor Wu's reign at least four eclipses are not recorded. Dubs asks: »Why should this failure have occurred just before the calendar was rectified?«<sup>6)</sup>

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<sup>1)</sup> Eberhard op. cit. pp. 93—94.

<sup>2)</sup> Ibid. p. 97.

<sup>3)</sup> Dubs op. cit. I p. 290.

<sup>4)</sup> Ibid. II pp. 286—287.

<sup>5)</sup> Ibid. II p. 364.

<sup>6)</sup> Ibid. II p. 141.

About another reign he says: »It seems as if the astronomers were satisfied with the calendar, and hence did not bother to look for solar eclipses.«<sup>1)</sup>

Thus the question of the nature of the unusual natural phenomena has hitherto not been definitely settled. Were they, and were all of them, used for the purpose of expressing indirect criticism? Does this exclude the possibility of making use of the material furnished by them for research in economic history, meteorology, astronomy etc.? Apparently not. It is not surprising, therefore, that now and then scholars still use these records of earthquakes, floods, rainfall, droughts, famines etc., for tabulations or graphic figures, in order to trace economic and physical phenomena.<sup>2)</sup> As this is the case, and as furthermore there is an increasing emphasis on the study of the economic background of China's history, it seems to me very urgent to ascertain whether the material furnished by these phenomena can be used for such kind of research or not.

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The investigation has again to start with the solar eclipses, as this is the starting point for reaching definite results. It is in this respect as important to find out which eclipses are recorded as to settle how many eclipses are not recorded. It was of course always dangerous to invent an eclipse that had actually never occurred. If such a fraud had been detected, the punishment would in all probability have been execution.<sup>3)</sup> If, as I hope to show, Eberhard and Dubs are correct in their theory, it was usually not even necessary to take such drastic steps. Under each reign there occurred a certain number of eclipses. Concealing none of them would certainly have indicated a very strong indirect criticism, while a recording of only some of them would have meant the contrary. Only under a reign with very few observable eclipses would there have been any temptation to manufacture others if there was strong reason for criticism. This actually happened under the reign of the Empress Dowager née Lü.<sup>4)</sup> Anyhow, the concealing of eclipses must a priori have played a greater role than their invention.

Fortunately there is a possibility of measuring these manipulations. What we have to do is to take for each reign the number of the observable eclipses that

<sup>1)</sup> Dubs op. cit. II p. 355.

<sup>2)</sup> For example Ting, V. K., »Notes on records of droughts and floods in Shensi, and the supposed desiccation of N. W. China« (Geogr. Ann., Stockholm, Special number dedicated to Sven Hedin 1935).

Yao Shan-yu in his »Flood and Drought data in the T'u-shu chi-ch'eng and the Ch'ing shih kao« (Harv. J. of Asiat. Stud. 8, 1944, pp. 214—226) expresses the opinion that the material furnished by the portents can be used for general purposes. He does so himself in his »The chronological and seasonal distribution of floods and droughts in Chinese history 206 B. C.—A. D. 1911« (Harv. J. of Asiat. Stud. 6, 1942, pp. 273—312) and »The geographical distribution of floods and droughts in Chinese history 206 B. C.—A. D. 1911 (Far East. Quart., 1943 pp. 357 ff.).

<sup>3)</sup> Cf. Dubs op. cit. I p. 212.

<sup>4)</sup> Ibid. I p. 212.

did actually occur, a figure obtained through astronomical calculations. From this figure we have to subtract the number of the eclipses recorded in the history. If the number in both cases is the same, we get 0. If perchance the number of recorded eclipses is higher than the number of those actually occurred, we get a + value. If, as is almost invariably the case, the situation is the contrary, we get a — value. By doing this calculation for reign after reign, we obtain a certain figure, plus, minus or zero, for each of them. One possible source of error is the fact that the different reigns are of varying length. During a long reign there were more occasions on which an actual, observable eclipse could be recorded or concealed. In order to eliminate this source of error, we have to divide our figures by the number of years of the different reigns in question. Only then will our figures, one for each reign, be mutually comparable.<sup>1)</sup> Representing them graphically, we obtain the picture given in figure 1. (See p. 132.)

What, then, does this curve prove? At first, in fact, very little. Nevertheless, the figure is of some value. The tendency behind the recording or concealing of observable eclipses in Former Han times is, so to speak, put down on paper. We find that eclipses were concealed especially under the Emperors Kao-tsü, Wen and Suan. During other reigns eclipses were recorded more often, with climaxes under the Empress Dowager née Lü and Emperors King and Ch'eng. But why this tendency? We have to look for other material to find the explanation, i. e. we have to investigate all the other portents recorded in the Ts'ien-Han-shu.

By adding the records from the pen-ki to the additional records of chapter 27 we obtain a list of 228 items<sup>2)</sup>, unevenly distributed among the different reigns. Again we take the figure of each reign and divide it by the number of years of the reign in question. Now we have once more a series of average figures which are mutually comparable. Putting them down graphically, we obtain figure 2. As in figure 1, the interesting point is not so much the actual value for every reign as rather the course of the curve. We find that the course of figure 2

<sup>1)</sup> It is very simple to carry out these calculations as Dubs (op. cit.) in an appendix for each reign discusses with admirable clearness the identification of each recorded eclipse and even gives a complete list of all the eclipses that occurred but are not recorded in the Ts'ien-Han-shu. The limit between «observable» and «not observable» among these non-recorded eclipses I have put at the eclipse with the lowest magnitude which actually was recorded.

There is little chance that some of the non-recorded eclipses were invisible because of bad weather, for eclipses were not only observed in the capital but also in the country, and it is therefore highly improbable that bad weather should have concealed an observable eclipse at all places where this eclipse could have been seen (cf. Dubs op. cit. I pp. 228—289). But even granting this improbability in a few isolated cases, it would not much affect the graphic figure. What is of importance is the actual course of the curve, and this would not be radically influenced. It is of no decisive importance whether the figure for a certain reign is, for instance, 0.09, 0.10 or 0.11.

<sup>2)</sup> This figure excludes 5 items, recorded in chapter 27, which are of a somewhat different nature from the others. They do not concern the Emperor but are strange events in the year 80 B. C., directly concerning the kings of Yen and Ch'ang-i. As we are interested in the question whether or not indirect criticism was used against the Emperor himself, it seems correct to omit these 5 items.

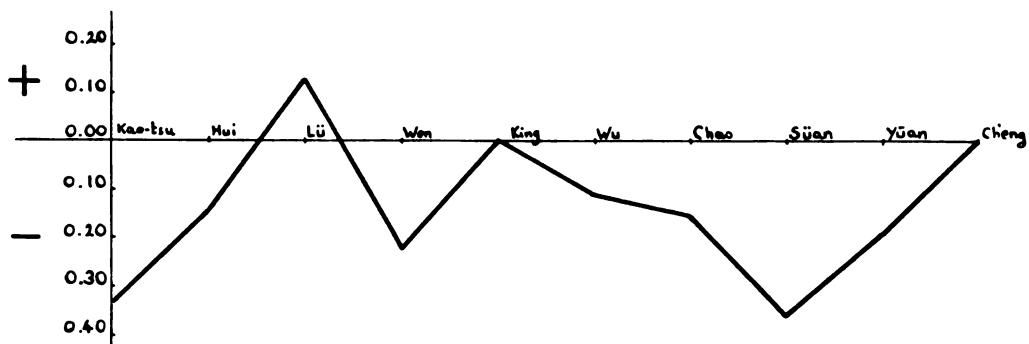


Fig. 1.

is almost exactly the same as that of figure 1: low for Emperors Kao-tsü, Wen and Süan, higher for the others. The main difference is that figure 2 has a climax for Emperor Hui that is not visible in figure 1.

If, now, our first curve shows the tendency behind the recording or concealing of eclipses, and figure 2 proves to have practically the same course, then it can only mean that figure 2 conforms to this same tendency, i. e. all the portents form a homogeneous material, affected by one and the same power.

Is there any power in nature which is able to force sun, moon, stars, comets, meteors, earthquakes, avalanches, floods, rains, snow, frost, locusts, grubs, drought, famines, storms, fogs, the unseasonal behaviour of plants, monstrosities among animals or people, fires etc. to occur or act after one and the same scheme? There certainly is not. The power behind figures 1 and 2 is therefore not the power of Nature but the power of Man.

Having come so far in our conclusions, it is no longer sufficient to find explanations for only one part of the whole picture such as the eclipses. For example, the rectifications of the calendar under Emperor Wu might seem to explain the omission of eclipses, but this in turn does not explain the omission to the same extent of all the other portents during the same reign. Hence the only explanation acceptable is one that takes into account all the facts.

The only possible interpretation has already been suggested by Eberhard and Dubs. The motive power is the wish to level veiled, i. e. indirect, criticism against the ruler, and the material used consisted of all the portents. The varying strength of this criticism during the different reigns determines the course of the curves. As the belief was well established during Han time that portents were warnings from Heaven to the ruler, it is not surprising that this means of expressing criticism was used if it seemed necessary to do so.

Both our figures actually complement each other. The curve in figure 1 is quite

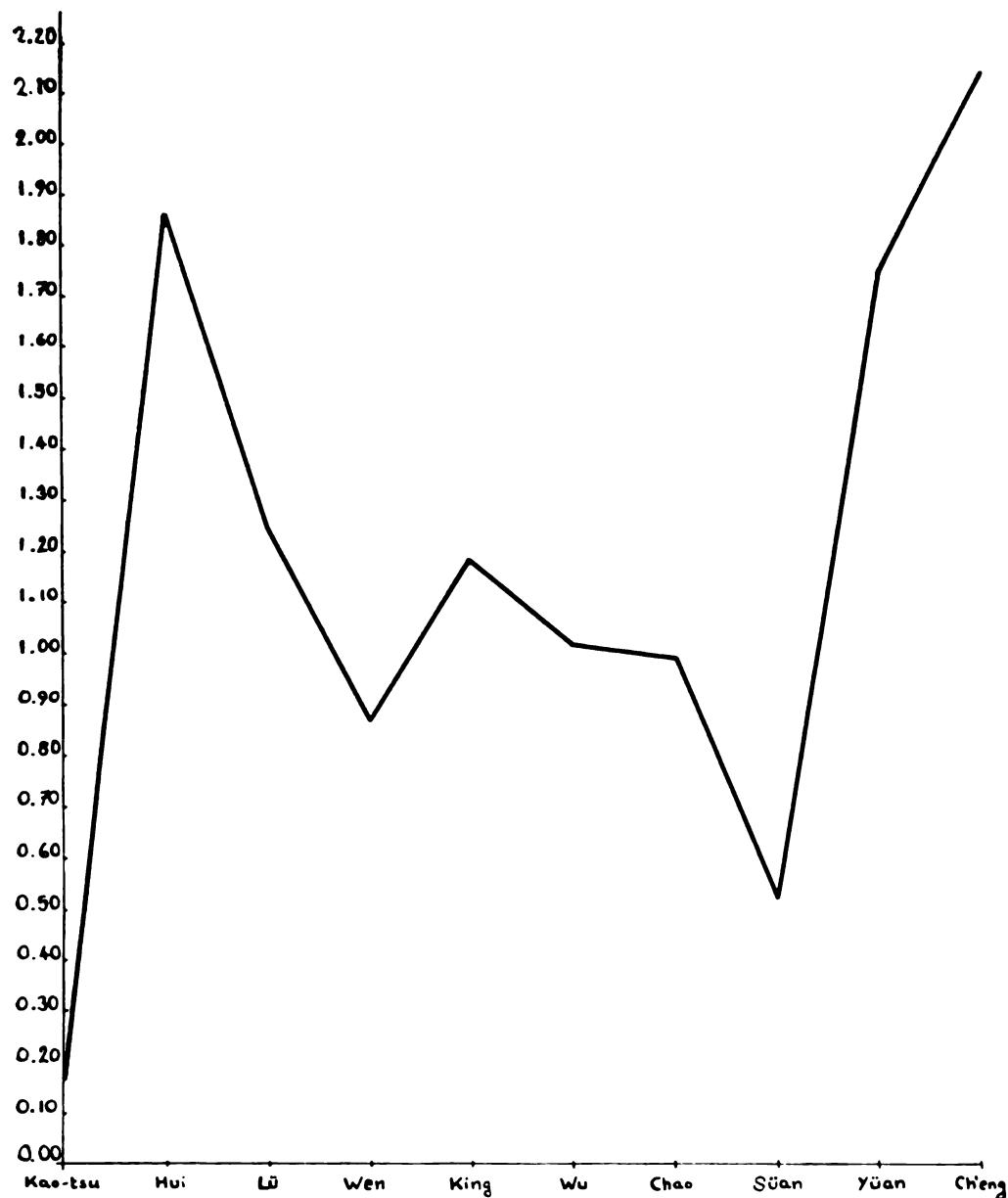


Fig. 2.

The total number of recorded portents (except eclipses) / year for each reign.

representative since solar eclipses were regarded as very strong warnings from Heaven. It is very fortunate, therefore, that calculation based on these eclipses could be used as the key to the whole problem. On the other hand, eclipses do not occur at regular intervals. There are periods with few observable eclipses, which in turn provide less occasion for manipulations. Hence, in spite of our average figures, the curve might need a slight correction. This correction is possible by comparing figure 1 with figure 2, thereby supplementing one curve with the other. We then find that the curve of indirect criticism was very low under Kao-tsü, very high under Hui and the Empress Dowager née Lü, low under Wen, high under King, successively lower under Wu and Chao, very low under Süan and very high under Yüan and Ch'eng. Thus our two graphic figures together furnish a means of measuring the strength of the indirect criticism actually put forth during Former Han times.

What has been said above, is, I think, fairly conclusive. Nevertheless, the more evidence adduced the better. As the present investigation has resulted in two mutually supplementary curves indicating the strength of indirect criticism during Former Han down to Emperor Ch'eng, the next step must be to find out if the course of these curves is confirmed by what we know from the history of this period.

Before doing so, however, we have to decide another question. Who were the critics? Up to this point I have entirely agreed with Eberhard and Dubs, but here my opinion differs from the view of both these scholars. According to Eberhard, only one person criticized: Pan Ku. He says: »Die Geschichtsschreibung beabsichtigte keine objektive Darstellung, sie wollte Tendenz.«<sup>1)</sup> It was, so to speak, a trick of the historian to record portents for the reign of an emperor who, in his opinion, was a bad ruler. »...durch das blosse Aufzeichnen übten sie (the historians) eine Kritik an der Regierung aus. Es ist ein indirekter, aber sehr deutlicher und jedem gebildeten Leser verständlicher Tadel des Kaisers.«<sup>2)</sup> Eberhard regards it as an established fact that this method had already been used by the author of the Ch'un-ts'iu, which thus became a model for later histories. He repeats this opinion in his »Chinas Geschichte«<sup>3)</sup>: »Mit durch diese Erfahrung geschärftem Blick (obtained from the Ch'un-ts'iu) kann man überigens erkennen und nachweisen, dass die meisten anderen offiziellen Geschichtswerke nach dem Muster der »Frühlings- und Herbst-Annalen« gewisse Dinge enthalten, die absichtlich verfälscht sind.«

Whatever the case may be about the Ch'un-ts'iu, Pan Ku is not a forger. He did not insert portents in his history for purpose of his own. The portents were memorialized to the emperors. Even a cursory reading of the Ts'ien-Han-shu makes this evident. We find that the emperors in their edicts again and

<sup>1)</sup> Eberhard op. cit. p. 97.

<sup>2)</sup> Ibid. p. 93.

<sup>3)</sup> Bern 1948, p. 54.

again announce that portents had occurred and that they themselves were thus to blame. A few examples will be sufficient to prove the point:

On Febr. 6th, 32 B. C., there was a visitation of fire in the temple of the Emperor's great-grandfather. A comet appeared in the constellation Ying-shi.<sup>1)</sup> An imperial edict said: »Recently a visitation of fire descended upon an [imperial] ancestral temple and a comet appeared in the eastern quarter [of the heavens] — the rectification [of Our government] at its inception has [shown some] defect . . .<sup>2)</sup>

On the 5th Jan., 29 B. C. there was an eclipse of the sun and an earthquake in the Wei-yang Palace. An imperial edict said: » . . . when the prince of men is not virtuous, a reproach appears in Heaven or Earth, and visitations and prodigies happen frequently, in order to inform him that he is not governing rightly. Our experience in governing has been [only] for a brief time, so that [We] have not been correct in [Our] acts, hence on [the day] mou-shen (i. e. 5th Jan.) there was an eclipse of the sun and an earthquake. We are greatly dismayed . . .<sup>3)</sup>

If, therefore, Pan Ku inserted portents into his history in order to express his personal criticism he must also have forged the edicts. I hardly think that Eberhard would go so far as to assert this. Besides, it is possible to show that Pan Ku did not falsify history. He certainly was a brilliant man, so that if he had recorded portents for purpose of his own it only to be expected that in his manipulations he would have acted consistently. Now, figures 1 and 2 both show that there was much indirect criticism during the reign of Emperor King. In fact, he represents one of the climaxes of the curves. But in his eulogy Pan Ku says . . .: » The Chou [dynasty] talked about [Kings] Ch'eng and K'ang; the Han dynasty similarly speaks of [Emperors] Wen and Ching (i. e. King). How splendid!»<sup>4)</sup> Furthermore in using the Shi-ki as a source, he makes several additions in favour of Emperor King. Thus Pan Ku's history is more favourably inclined towards this ruler than Sī-ma Ts'ien's.<sup>5)</sup> To level sharp criticism by inserting portents in the text and in the same breath to praise the Emperor in the eulogy, would of course have been the height of inconsistency. It might still be argued that Pan Ku desired to show his slighting opinion of this emperor by inserting portents, while he did not dare to speak openly in the eulogy. But then it would have been even more inconsistent to make at the same time additions favourable to Emperor King beyond the text of the Shi-ki. We may, therefore, safely conclude that Pan Ku did not manipulate portents. He simply recorded portents which had actually been memorialized to the emperors.

Dubs does not refute Eberhard's view but seems to have no doubt that portents

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<sup>1)</sup> Dubs op. cit. II p. 375.

<sup>2)</sup> Ibid. II p. 376.

<sup>3)</sup> Ibid. II p. 382.

<sup>4)</sup> Ibid. I p. 333.

<sup>5)</sup> Cf. ibid. I p. 301.

were memorialized.<sup>1)</sup> In his opinion the criticism came basically from the people: »... people looked for portents whenever things began to go wrong, and found a portent in any strange event. ... Ever since the time of Emperor Wu, criticism of the government had been more or less repressed and oftentimes punished; the reporting of portents thus became a safe outlet for peoples' feelings. It is furthermore probable that most, if not all, of these portents were reported by the people to the high officials, such as Commandery Grand Administrators, and memorialized to the throne by the latter, ...<sup>2)</sup> Consequently, according to Dubs, the role of the officials was to forward to the Emperor the criticism of the people.

As already mentioned above, Dubs is, I think, mistaken. The Ts'ien-Han-shu gives information enough to make it evident when people had cause for criticism and when they had not. Hence it is easy to see whether historical information compared with our graphs confirms Dubs' opinion or not. In attempting this we can avail ourselves of Dubs' detailed introductions to each translated annal. In order to avoid repetitions it will be sufficient to point out where curves and historical evidence do not agree.

According to our figures there was very much indirect criticism during the reigns of Emperor Hui and the Empress Dowager née Lü. But »this period of fifteen years constituted a period of rest and recuperation after the fighting and destruction preceding the reign of Kao-tsü and the civil war during it. ... during this period there were no revolts. Peace was made with the only external enemy, the Huns, ... There was only one war — with the state of Nan-yüeh, located at the present Canton; but mountains proved such a barrier that even the war was confined to border forays, ... Thus the people secured a rest, the population could increase, and the country became prosperous.<sup>3)</sup> If, then, the condition of the common people improved, there was no reason for them to criticize. It is true that the Empress Dowager was in control of the government, but this was certainly not of the slightest interest to the peasants so long as they were satisfied with their life.

The graphs indicate much indirect criticism during the reign of Emperor King, higher even than under Emperor Wu. But, as Dubs points out, Pan Ku's additions to his history beyond the text of the *Shi-ki* »show an attempt on the part of the Emperor to be a beneficent ruler over his people, limiting severities, punishing wrongdoing and improving the administration.<sup>4)</sup> Pan Ku's eulogy is, as mentioned above, favourable for this emperor. Dubs therefore concludes: »... in general the administration of the government was good, and the Emperor attempted to continue the beneficence and economy of Emperor Wen». Szu-ma Kuang, in his *Tzu-chih T'ung-chien* 15:19 b ff, quotes Pan Ku's eulogy and points out that the period of

<sup>1)</sup> He actually says once (op. cit. II p. 355) that »the misgovernment of Shih Hsien induced the annalists to record many portents», but similar assertions are not repeated elsewhere.

<sup>2)</sup> Ibid. II p. 364.

<sup>3)</sup> Ibid. I pp. 167—168.

<sup>4)</sup> Ibid. I p. 301.

Emperors Wen and Ching (i. e. King) was in general a time of peace and plenty, when wealth accumulated and prosperity was restored, . . .<sup>1)</sup> Again, then, there was but little reason for the people to be discontented.

Both curves show less criticism under Emperor Wu than under Emperor King. Dubs says that there was probably »considerable enthusiasm for him (Emperor Wu) among the people, because of his magnificence and his grants.«<sup>2)</sup> On the other hand, »The undue demands made upon the people by Emperor Wu wrecked the country« and ruined merchants and the middle class.<sup>3)</sup> »The final result of Emperor Wu's continued overtaxation, wastage and misgovernment was civil disorder.«<sup>4)</sup> The majority of the people certainly never got a chance to see the Emperor's »magnificence«, while most of them felt the heavy burden of his demands. Judging from the condition of the people, therefore, we should expect higher indirect criticism under Emperor Wu than under Emperor King. The picture offered by the curves is just the opposite.

Finally, the reign of Emperor Yüan was, in general, peaceful »with administrative economies and a lightening of the people's burdens«,<sup>5)</sup> while the curves show a good deal of indirect criticism.

Taking all these discrepancies between curves and historical facts into account, the conclusion can only be one: indirect criticism expressed through memorializing portents did not originate from the people.

If the people were not the primus motor, who then? I think it can be proved that the indirect criticism originated from the officials, especially from the officials in the capital, whose displeasure with the government had other reasons, quite different from those of the common people.<sup>6)</sup> We shall find this amply confirmed by the fact that our curves in this respect agree on every point with what we know from the history of this period:

Kao-tsu was a constitutional monarch. He started the practice whereby the Emperor acted only on the suggestion of his ministers: »... the Emperor recognized that he depended upon his officials . . .<sup>7)</sup> Open criticism was possible. Besides, »as long as any of Kao-tsu's companions were alive, they and no others were given

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<sup>1)</sup> Dubs op. cit. I. p. 301.

<sup>2)</sup> Ibid. II p. 17.

<sup>3)</sup> Ibid. II p. 12.

<sup>4)</sup> Ibid. II p. 16.

<sup>5)</sup> Ibid. II p. 279.

<sup>6)</sup> After I had finished the present study, my attention was drawn to Wang Yü-ch'üan's »An outline of the Central Government of the Former Han dynasty« (Harv. J. of Asiat. Stud. 12, 1949, pp. 134—187). He says (p. 166) that »the theory of anomalies and calamities« alone seems to have served the Han ministers as a handy and efficacious weapon to remedy many a worthless policy, to keep the Emperor's power in check, and to strengthen the body of bureaucrats against an absolute ruler. On the other hand, he writes on the same page that the criticism originated from »the ministers and the people« (spaced by me). In neither case does he prove his opinion.

<sup>7)</sup> Dubs op. cit. I p. 18.

the important positions in the government.<sup>1)</sup> It is only to be expected, therefore, that the officials had few reasons to make use of indirect criticism. Hence the very low indirect criticism shown by our curves is confirmed by historical evidence.

Emperor Hui was only the nominal ruler. All power was concentrated in the hands of his mother, the Empress Dowager née Lü. She murdered her son's step-brother Liu Ju-i and, in a particularly brutal fashion, the latter's mother the lady née Ch'i. She attempted to assassinate Liu Fei, another of Kao-tsü's sons. After Emperor Hui's death, she imprisoned his son, the child emperor, in 184 B. C. The boy died in prison. She broke Kao-tsü's solemn covenant that nobody should become king except members of the Liu family, and enfeoffed four of her nephews from the Lü clan as kings. The high officials, all old companions of Kao-tsü »recognized that she materially assisted in winning the empire, so that she also was one of the followers of Kao-tsü; these facts and the power of the Lü faction kept the officials from making any overt move against her. The Senior Lieutenant Chancellor, Wang Ling, protested in private, but he was promoted to an advisory post which left him powerless.<sup>2)</sup> When Emperor Hui's only son died in prison, the officials did not assist in appointing a new emperor. Some of Kao-tsü's followers left the capital, »such as the famous Lu Chia, who had been unable to stomach the Empress Dowager's rule . . .<sup>3)</sup> After her death »the power of the Empress Dowager collapsed like a house of cards . . .<sup>3)</sup> Is it then surprising that indirect criticism put forth by the officials and revealed by our curves was very strong during this period?

»Emperor Wen came to the throne under exceptionally favourable circumstances, for he was chosen for the place by the most influential persons in the empire, who consequently took responsibility for him.<sup>4)</sup> »Emperor Wen accepted whole-heartedly the Confucian doctrine that the ruler exists for the welfare of his subjects and put that doctrine into practice.<sup>5)</sup> Hence there was little reason for taking refuge in indirect criticism, and this agrees with our curves.

»The reign of Emperor Ching (i. e. King) shows the deterioration in character that was inevitable when an emperor had been raised in a harem and protected from close contact with the world of action. . . . Emperor Ching indulged his petty personal feelings, allowing his likes and dislikes to guide him in his choice and treatment of his ministers. He showed in practice an acute distaste for frank admonitions, and allowed palace intrigues to influence the government.<sup>6)</sup> » . . . by his actions he tacitly encouraged sycophancy and discouraged any opposition to his will.<sup>7)</sup> There is thus ample historical evidence for our curves, revealing that

<sup>1)</sup> Dubs op. cit. I p. 17.

<sup>2)</sup> Ibid. I p. 170.

<sup>3)</sup> Ibid. I p. 171.

<sup>4)</sup> Ibid. I p. 215.

<sup>5)</sup> Ibid. I p. 216.

<sup>6)</sup> Ibid. I p. 297.

<sup>7)</sup> Ibid. I p. 292.

indirect criticism was high under Emperor King. — As mentioned above, Sī-ma Ts'ien's and Pan Ku's opinions about this reign differ widely. Pan Ku speaks of Emperor King in the same breath as he speaks of Emperor Wen, while Sī-ma Ts'ien roundly condemns him. There is a possibility that in expressing his judgment Pan Ku was thinking of the general condition of the common people, which was not at all unfavourable<sup>1)</sup>, while Sī-ma Ts'ien based his opinion on the administrative circumstances and particularly the atmosphere among the high officials in the capital.

Emperor Wu »overturned the unwritten constitution of the state, which limited the emperor's powers, and made himself an absolute autocrat.»<sup>2)</sup> »He did not allow any of his Lieutenant Chancellors to remain in office long enough to gain prestige. They were tripped up on some one of the many vague laws and were sentenced for crime.»<sup>3)</sup> »... the emperor's private secretaries, the Masters of Writing or the Palace Writers, instead of the Lieutenant Chancellors, came to be the most powerful officials in the government.»<sup>4)</sup> »It now became possible for persons who held no official positions to dominate the government through their possession of the imperial confidence.»<sup>5)</sup> Direct criticism became almost impossible. — Judging from this material alone, we should expect very strong indirect criticism under Emperor Wu. The graphs show that this kind of criticism was certainly not low. Still, it seems at first sight peculiar that indirect criticism under Emperor Wu was nevertheless decidedly lower than under Emperor King. The explanation is the following: »The foregoing consequences of Emperor Wu's over-ambitious overturn of the state constitution did not for the most part manifest themselves until the reigns of succeeding emperors. By his own penetration and activity he minimized them during his own reigns<sup>6)</sup>, and »... Emperor Wu must have been extremely popular, especially among the officials, because of his military conquests, his reforms in ceremonial, his encouragement of literature, the founding of the Imperial University etc.»<sup>7)</sup>

During the reign of Emperor Chao the government was controlled by Ho Kuang. »He had been trained by Emperor Wu and continued that Emperor's type of government. But the impoverished and depopulated condition of the country caused him, at the suggestion of Tu Yen-nien, to make one change after another, each in the direction of returning to the practices customary before the time of Emperor Wu, ...»<sup>8)</sup> The famous debate on government affairs in 81 B. C. shows that direct criticism was to some extent possible. In fact, the curves reveal somewhat less indirect criticism against this reign, than against Emperor Wu.

<sup>1)</sup> Cf. *supra* p. 138.

<sup>2)</sup> Dubs *op. cit.* II p. 17.

<sup>3)</sup> *Ibid.* II p. 9.

<sup>4)</sup> *Ibid.* II p. 10.

<sup>5)</sup> *Ibid.* II p. 11.

<sup>6)</sup> *Ibid.* II p. 11.

<sup>7)</sup> *Ibid.* II p. 17.

<sup>8)</sup> *Ibid.* II p. 146.

»The reign of Emperor Hsüan (i. e. Süan) marks the highest point of Chinese power and civilization during the Former Han period . . . Never before was the government so well-administered . . .<sup>1)</sup> The Emperor »rewarded those officials who were known to be kindly, and degraded those who were harsh . . . Emperor Hsüan did not execute his officials as Emperor Wu had done . . . For the next Grandee Secretary (after Wei Hsiang), Emperor Hsüan selected a very different sort of person, Ping Chi, a protégé of Ho Kuang, who was good-natured and liberal and who sought no rewards for any of his own good deeds. If an official committed a crime, Ping Chi would conceal the matter and suggest to the official that he had better resign than be punished. When he succeeded to the position of Lieutenant Chancellor, he inaugurated the custom of not turning that office into a court for trying minor officials. . . . Emperor Hsüan was more successful in securing capable and good Lieutenant Chancellors than any other emperor had been since Emperor Kao . . .<sup>2)</sup> — There is thus ample confirmation of the fact that our curves indicate very low indirect criticism under Emperor Süan.

During the reign of Emperor Yüan »The actual control of governmental business . . . was neither in the hands of Confucian scholars in high civil position nor of the imperial relatives in control of the army, but in the hands of Emperor Yüan's favorite eunuch, Shih Hsien.»<sup>3)</sup> In 47 B. C. the Confucians tried in vain to break his power. Later attempts were not successful either. »Whenever there was a calamity, Emperor Yüan would ask his subjects to explain to him what was to blame, and several good Confucians blamed the anger of Heaven upon Shih Hsien's machinations. Each time Shih Hsien heard about it and managed to have the complainant caught up and punished on some crime, so that this eunuch came to be feared greatly by the officials in the capital . . . Shih Hsien was afraid that Emperor Yüan would eventually listen to criticism of him, so he kept searching out his critics relentlessly and had them executed for one crime or another.»<sup>4)</sup> Open criticism from the officials proved to be dangerous to life. Hence the very high indirect criticism during this period indicated by the curves.

Under Emperor Ch'eng »the government was entrusted to the Wang clan, that of the Emperor's mother; her brothers, one after another, controlled affairs, while the Emperor took his pleasure in amusement, music, banquets, incognito excursions, and in his harem. The government consequently degenerated and corruption became rife, . . .<sup>5)</sup> Wang Feng in particular »came to be cordially hated by many in the court,»<sup>6)</sup> liquidating his opponents without mercy. »He chose the incumbents of all the positions in the government and filled the bureaucracy with his

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<sup>1)</sup> Dubs op. cit. II p. 180.

<sup>2)</sup> Ibid. II pp. 188—189.

<sup>3)</sup> Ibid. II p. 294.

<sup>4)</sup> Ibid. II p. 297.

<sup>5)</sup> Ibid. II p. 356.

<sup>6)</sup> Ibid. II p. 358.

adherents.<sup>1)</sup> »The quality of the government declined considerably.«<sup>2)</sup> The curves reveal that indirect criticism was very high during this period, which again agrees with the historical data.

The evidence adduced above should be sufficient. We can safely conclude that the indirect criticism originated from the officials, especially from the officials in the capital, not from the common people. In support of my opinion I have deliberately quoted Professor H. H. Dubs, a great authority on Former Han times. What he says is written in a different context, but as it can be adduced for my view, it strengthens, I think, my point.

Thus, if there was cause for criticism, the emperors were through memorials informed by the officials of the occurrence of portents. It was a fairly safe way for the officials to demonstrate that something was wrong. The emperors were often highly susceptible to this kind of criticism, but, in spite of their edicts, they seldom changed their policy.

It is really not at all surprising that this long list of memorialized portents is to be found in the pen-ki. After all, the pen-ki are a kind of biographies of the emperors, biographies not so much of the private as of the official aspects of their life. Hence the portents, regarded as warnings from Heaven, but used by the officials to express their own criticism of governmental affairs, were certainly very suitable to be incorporated therein. This would not have been the case with purely economic statistics.

As emphasized and shown in detail above, the strength of the indirect criticism was not dependent on the number of calamities that actually occurred. In practice calamities became portents only when they were memorialized as such, and it was for the officials to decide whether the Emperor should be informed or not. Consequently, as long as the officials were more or less content with the government, the number of memorialized portents was low. If on the other hand there was cause for criticism, they could select a calamity which seemed suitable and then memorialize it.

The earthquakes, floods, droughts, famines etc. actually had two different aspects. One of them was purely economic. Country districts hit by one or several of these calamities could obtain exemption from taxes and statute labour, besides direct help.<sup>3)</sup>

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<sup>1)</sup> Dubs op. cit. II p. 359.

<sup>2)</sup> Ibid. II p. 361.

<sup>3)</sup> I cannot answer the question whether the Emperor's personal sanction was always necessary for dispensing relief. There is a strong probability that the officials concerned simply followed routine. It is also conceivable that the Emperor could be informed about the occurrence of some calamity and the need for urgent relief without its being called a portent. There is, nevertheless, no doubt whatever that the list of portents in the Ts'ien-Han-shu really consists of calamities memorialized as portents. The edicts always refer to them as warnings and punishments from Heaven. Besides, in this respect the congruence between our figures 1 and 2 is proof enough. Such striking congruence can never be mere coincidence. — Relief given to country districts hit by a specified calamity which was not memorialized as a portent is, as a rule, not mentioned in the pen-ki.

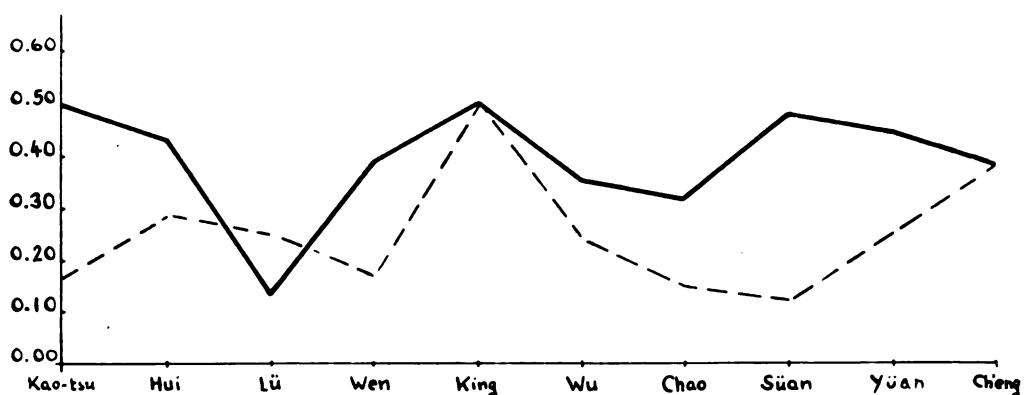


Fig. 3.

Curve 1 ————— : Observable solar eclipses / year for each reign  
 Curve 2 - - - - - : Recorded solar eclipses / year for each reign

Calamities which in some way or other affected agriculture were, therefore, without doubt reported to the capital, and records of these calamities were almost certainly kept in some of the departments in the capital as well as in the archives of the commanderies. Among this material the officials could in case of need have their choice, and only then did these selected calamities acquire their secondary aspect: they became portents because they were memorialized as portents. In choosing from among the calamities the officials did not follow any fixed rules. They simply took what was available at the moment or what seemed most useful.

If we bear this in mind, it becomes evident that the portents cannot be divided into different groups, containing solar eclipses, earthquakes, raines, floods etc. and then be treated as statistics of these phenomena, for the simple reason that these groups are hopelessly incomplete. The number of portents recorded in the Ts'ien-Han-shu is not controlled by the power of Nature. Hence neither calculation nor graphic representation based on the number of these recorded events would afford the slightest clue to their actual continuous occurrence. To overlook this fact leads to deplorable misunderstanding. This can clearly be proved through figure 3, representing a curve of observable solar eclipses during the Former Han, and another curve showing the eclipses which were actually memorialized as portents and therefore recorded in the history.<sup>1)</sup> There is in fact no possibility whatsoever of guessing the course of curve 1 merely by knowing curve 2.<sup>2)</sup> If, not knowing curve 1, we were to accept curve 2 and use it for further research, we should certainly be wide of the mark. This is true of solar eclipses, and, as we have proved that the portents form a homogeneous material, it also holds good of all the other portents.

<sup>1)</sup> Both curves give average figures per annum for each reign.

<sup>2)</sup> To use, for instance, 25-year statistics instead of reigns as scale for the graph gives no other result.

Let us sum up the results of this investigation:

1. From the use of graphs it becomes evident that all the portents recorded in the Ts'ien-Han-shu form a homogeneous material, influenced by one and the same motive power. As this power we recognized the desire to level indirect criticism against the ruler, as has already been suggested by Eberhard and Dubs.
2. Our two curves together indicate the force of this indirect criticism under each ruler.
3. Eberhard proves to be wrong in saying that the indirect criticism originated from Pan Ku. Actually the portents were memorialized to the emperors, and hence the recording of portents in the Ts'ien-Han-shu is not tendentious.
4. The veiled criticism against the ruler did not originate from the people, as Dubs suggests, but from the officials.
5. Information on different subjects furnished by the unusual natural phenomena e. g. on economy, meteorology, astronomy etc. cannot serve as a basis for a statistical interpretation.<sup>1)</sup>

The investigation emphasizes, I think, the importance of clearly understanding not only the nature of the official histories as a whole, but also the nature of the different materials compiled and recorded in them. Sometimes the nature of this material is easily understood, sometimes it needs detailed investigation, as in the present case.<sup>2)</sup> If this critical treatment of our sources is neglected, we run the risk of reaching wrong conclusions.

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<sup>1)</sup> Still more unfortunate is the fact that in no other context are there additional data concerning the events in question complete enough to serve as material for further research. Hence we simply have no possibility at all of tracing the actual and successive occurrence of earthquakes, floods, droughts, famines, rainfall etc.

<sup>2)</sup> It should be pointed out that this investigation has been possible only due to the fact that Pan Ku's record of the memorialized portents must be fairly complete. If not, no statistical interpretation compared with historical evidence would have given such clear results.



# CHINESE LACQUER OF THE EARLY 15th CENTURY

BY

*FRITZ LOW-BEER*

Lacquer objects which may with some degree of confidence be ascribed to the first half of the 15th century are rare. During more than twenty years of collecting, I have become aware of only about 60 pieces. I shall attempt to present an organized survey of this material with some references to later »copies» and also to the porcelains of the period.

The majority of the specimens form a closely inter-related group; they appear to be the products of an Imperial workshop which was probably situated in or near Peiping. The material will be divided into five groups:

1. Products of the Imperial workshop which are considered to be definitely of our period, subdivided into
  - a. Carved lacquers;
  - b. »Painted and incised» or »filled in» lacquers;
2. Specimens similar to some in group 1 but lacking characteristics which would make a definite inclusion possible;
3. Specimens which can be attributed to our period with a very high degree of probability, for other reasons;
4. Specimens which may be of the period;
5. Specimens with 15th century marks which must be assumed to be of a later period.

## Group 1.

All specimens of this group are closely related in design and in quality of the lacquer. Those of the same technique are also greatly alike in workmanship. Some have Hsüan-tê marks which appear to be authentic. Those which are carved are all done in what I have called the »A» style.<sup>1)</sup> The lacquers are also related to the porcelains of the period through certain features of the decoration. As a group the pieces differ considerably from 16th-century products. These facts form the basis of the attributions, and I shall enlarge upon them only in a few cases.

The problem of copies, so vexing in the case of porcelains, seems less difficult in lacquer. Unlike porcelains, lacquers will show signs of age, such as cracks and

<sup>1)</sup> Burlington, pp. 166 bottom, 171 top.

the wearing away of the top layers in exposed places. The Chinese traditionally date lacquer by the fine crackle sometimes to be found on the surface. While this may occasionally help in determining the age of an otherwise doubtful piece, I have found it to be almost wholly unreliable. It seems logical that the development of a crackle should depend on many factors; I have seen Han pieces with a perfectly smooth surface. 15th-century lacquers do not seem to have been copied extensively during the 18th century; I have, however, found a number of late 16th century specimens with Yung-lo or Hsüan-tê marks. The possibility of more or less modern faking can be dismissed. There is not sufficient interest in Ming lacquer to tempt a potential faker, especially in view of the very great technical labours involved.<sup>1)</sup>

The material comprises mostly boxes, and plates or trays. I have never come across a stemcup nor have I ever seen a bowl, although I understand that there is one in the Palace Museum in Peiping. The boxes, usually circular, vary in diameter from 37 to 365 mm. Medium-sized and large ones are perhaps more often cylindrical than those produced in later periods. Lobed rims were preferred for trays and plates. Most of the pieces seem to have a wooden base. Their relatively good condition speaks for the excellence of the craftsmanship.

The specimens of the first group can be arranged according to three principal themes of decoration. These are:

- A. Flowers and foliage.
- B. Figural scenes.
- C. Dragons and/or phoenixes.

We may assume that the medium and its techniques, carving in particular, influenced the decorative design. Details of carved decoration, isolated by wide intervening spaces of background, would be easily damaged. In figural scenes where freedom of design is restricted by the necessity of making the »story» legible, various diapers are being used on the background; with flower and dragon decoration we can frequently observe that the design is arranged in an all-over pattern, largely preserving the character of the decorated planes. (See e. g. fig. 4).

In general, production does not seem to have provided many variations of decoration. Certain compositions, especially of peonies, were repeated with only minor alterations. I shall illustrate an example of each of these types and list similar specimens. Borders on plates and the sides of boxes are almost exclusively decorated with flowers. The general appearance of such carved borders is the same on all pieces, even though the repertory of flowers differs occasionally.

The Chinese custom, which has been accepted by Occidental scholars, of dating objects by dynasties or reigns, may become misleading because it does not allow

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<sup>1)</sup> I have unfortunately not been able to get much information about Japanese copies. Pieces bearing the mark of Chang Cheng, Yüan lacquer artist, are usually not originals but often similar to 15th-century specimens. I believe these to be Japanese copies.

for the usually gradual evolution of styles and technical developments, and these need not coincide with political changes. The two famous reigns during our period were of course those of Yung-lo (1403—1424 A. D.) and Hsüan-tê (1426—1435 A. D.), covering a time-span of together 32 years. Some artisans may have been active throughout this period, and many others who might have begun to work during the middle years of Yung-lo's reign could have continued beyond that of Hsüan-tê. It seems quite likely, therefore, that there may be no discernible difference between some of the pieces of either reign, and I have chosen »first half of the 15th century« as a more suitable attribution in most cases where the reign is not specified through an authentic-looking *nien-hao*.

This brings us to the rather difficult problem of marks. According to the Ch'ing pi ts'ang<sup>1)</sup> and the Tsun-sheng-pa-chien<sup>2)</sup>, six-character Yung-lo marks were incised with a needle and filled in with black lacquer, while Hsüan-tê marks were cut with a knife and filled in with gold lacquer. A relatively large number of pieces are marked, and the Yung-lo marks on authentic specimens are always incised although there seems to be no trace of a black filling. It is indeed difficult to conceive how these thinly incised marks would have been visible if filled in with black, inasmuch as the bases on which they are found are usually lacquered dark brown or black themselves. At the time of writing the article on carved Ming lacquers<sup>3)</sup> and for some years afterwards, I believed these marks to be authentic. Since then, this belief has been shaken for the following reasons. In a few instances very poor calligraphy compels us to regard these particular marks as later additions. In most cases, however, the actual writing shows a certain fluidity, apparently without particular characteristics. Chinese experts' opinions differ widely so that it seems impossible to determine the date of the marks by means of their calligraphy. The marks usually run at a vertical tangent along the left side of the base, beginning very near its rim. The characters are invariably small, and the entire short inscription has no aesthetic relationship with the base. Unfortunately, we are ignorant of the customs or rules governing the use of the *nien-hao* in Yung-lo's time; in later reigns, probably including that of Hsüan-tê, the practice seems to have been to mark specimens decorated with five-clawed dragons in preference to those with lesser decor.<sup>4)</sup> I know of only five specimens with five-clawed dragon decoration. Two of these have Hsüan-tê marks and one, without mark, (fig. 35) may be the product of a different workshop. The remaining two (figs. 19, 24) are not marked although they certainly belong to group 1. Hsüan-tê marks on authentic specimens seem mostly genuine. They are carved with a knife

<sup>1)</sup> S. W. Bushell: »Chinese Arts«, vol. 1, pp. 113, 114.

<sup>2)</sup> »Materialien«, p. 218, last paragraph.

<sup>3)</sup> Burlington.

<sup>4)</sup> In the recent exhibition of blue and white Ming porcelain in Philadelphia all pieces with five-clawed dragon decoration were marked, with the single exception of one early 15th cent. brushwasher. (Cat. No. 43).

and filled in with gold of which usually at least traces remain. The writing is well balanced and relatively restrained. (Figs. 15, 13, 3, 23, 29). I know of about 12 pieces with Hsüan-tê marks but have not actually seen all of them. The marks occur on specimens of both techniques and all types of decorative themes. While it is entirely possible that many thousands of porcelains were produced during Hsüan-tê's relatively short reign, the production of lacquer wares, involving lengthy and laborious processes, must have been limited. Considering that about 12 of the perhaps 50 specimens now known to belong to group 1 have genuine Hsüan-tê marks, we might be permitted to assume that dating was a regular practice in this workshop during his reign. If we accept this assumption, then the two unmarked, dragon-decorated specimens should not have been produced during Hsüan-tê's reign and are more likely to be Yung-lo. In the light of our present knowledge the absence of Yung-lo marks on dragon-decorated specimens seems to throw doubt on the authenticity of all such marks. It may also be noted that no genuine Yung-lo marks seem to occur on blue and white porcelains, and that those appearing on white porcelains are written in seal characters.

I realize that this unfortunately complicated reasoning stems largely from assumptions based on the observation of limited material and cannot be proven at present. I would like to stress the fact that these are to be regarded merely as tentative suggestions. I am also unable to reconcile my doubts concerning the Yung-lo marks with the literary references, except to note that none of these references date from the 15th century.

I might mention here that, with the exception of one rather doubtful piece formerly in the possession the German State Museums in Berlin,<sup>1)</sup> no lacquer wares with Ch'eng-hua marks seem to exist. There is no possibility at this time of identifying pieces made between the reigns of Hsüan-tê and Hung-chih.

The great majority of the specimens belonging to group 1 are carved. The lacquer is cinnabar of various shades. Whenever the decorative scheme calls for a smooth background, as on most specimens with floral and dragon decoration, this is usually yellow lacquer which frequently has assumed a buff colour through age and even more so through dirt. Most pieces show a threadlike layer of black in the raised parts slightly above the background level.<sup>2)</sup> The interiors and bases are usually lacquered black which sometimes assumes a transparent brownish tinge.

The design is bold; the whole surface of an object will be covered with decoration with proportionately large individual details.

The design of some specimens belonging to group A (flower and foliage decoration) is characterized by one dominant flower, as seen in the flat-topped box shown in fig. 1.<sup>3)</sup> Here the bold lotus blossom is placed subtly off center. The border

<sup>1)</sup> London, No. 1419.

<sup>2)</sup> »Materialien« p. 217, paragraph 5. The Ko-ku-yao-lun's reference to a »black line« applies to Sung pieces but the practice was apparently continued.

<sup>3)</sup> See also Burlington, plate I, A, B.

decoration on the side consists of peonies and chrysanthemums. The carving, about 3 mm. deep, is done in dark cinnabar over a yellow background. A thin black line, consisting of one or two layers of lacquer, is inserted barely 1 mm. above the background. The base is a fairly glossy brownish black. The incised Yung-lo mark on the upper left of the base is badly written and almost certainly a later addition.

The same principle of design is used on two boxes with peony decoration. The first, in the collection of Mr. J. Lionberger Davis, in St. Louis, is of very small size, has a convex cover, and a Yung-lo mark incised on the light brown base. The other box, with a flat cover, is of medium size with the usual flower border-decor on the side.<sup>1)</sup> This box has a Hsüan-tê mark on the base.

Fig. 2 shows a small box with convex cover and one highly conventionalized lotus flower. The cut four-character mark (fig. 3) is filled in with gold, the omission of the first two characters is probably due to lack of space. A duplicate of this box in my collection has the usual six-character Yung-lo mark. A third box, also marked Yung-lo, but with a flat cover, is in the collection of Mr. Richard B. Hobart in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

The peony design on the top of the footstool (fig. 4)<sup>2)</sup> is very close-knit. The sides and legs show the usual border-type decor (fig. 5), this time using peonies, chrysanthemums, lotus and prunus. The carving, slightly over 3 mm. deep, is done in bright cinnabar over a yellow background. The black layer just above the background is very clear. The footstool is not marked.

The same close-knit peony decor occurs on several flat-topped boxes 200—315 mm. in diameter,<sup>3)</sup> which are all marked Yung-lo. Another box in a private collection in New York, also marked Yung-lo, but with chrysanthemum decoration, belongs to this category. It may be significant that this type of very close-knit design is not to be found on any object with the Hsüan-tê mark.

The small box with convex cover (fig. 6) is again decorated with peonies, but the design is less close-knit, showing slightly more background. The colour is bright cinnabar, and the black layer is unusually thin and very close to the yellow background. Neither this, nor a similar box in the collection of Mr. F. M. Mayer, New York, is marked, but the inside and base seem to have been relacquered in both cases. Two other boxes of this type which were in the trade several years

<sup>1)</sup> See Catalogue: Ausstellung Ostasiatische Malerei, Chinesisches Lackgerät, Österreichisches Museum für Kunst und Industrie, Vienna, 1937, No. 30.

<sup>2)</sup> See also: Otto Maenchen-Helfen: »Chinesisches Lackgerät, Ausstellung, Wien, 1937«, O. Z. Neue Folge 13, Abb. 4, and Catalogue: Exhibition of Chinese Lacquer Objects, China Institute in America, New York, 1945, plate III.

<sup>3)</sup> In the collection of Mr. K. Nedzu, Tokyo, publ. in »Shina Kogei Zukan«, vol. III, part 1, No. 30; in the German State Museums, Berlin, publ. Feddersen, Abb. 171, and L. Reidemeister: »Chinesische Lacke«, Weltkunst, Jahrg. VII, No. 51, Dec. 1933; in the Seattle Art Museum, Seattle, Washington; another one was in the trade years ago.

ago have Hsüan-tê marks.<sup>1)</sup> A plate with somewhat similar decoration but with red diaper background and a diapered rim,<sup>2)</sup> in the collection of Sir Percival David, has a Yung-lo mark.

Mr. C. Adrian Rubel gave the Fogg Museum a cupstand with peony decor on yellow background. This has a partly obliterated Yung-lo mark and a Hsüan-tê mark; it is likely that both are later additions.

The decoration on the cover of a box (fig. 7) consists of lotus, peonies and chrysanthemums. It is the only carved specimen within group A with several varieties of flowers on the cover. The border (fig. 8) has prunus blossoms in addition to the other flowers rendered on the cover. A Yung-lo mark is incised on the right side of the dark brown base.

The Hsüan-tê plate (fig. 9) with malva decoration<sup>3)</sup> is of exceptional quality. The great degree of overlapping, which creates an impression of several layers of depth, was probably necessitated by the five-finger shaped leaves; the spaces between the «fingers» could not be left blank. I have no information concerning the Hsüan-tê mark.

Similar in conception is a small box in my collection with narcissus decoration on the bottom as well as on the cover. This piece is unmarked. Another medium-sized box of this type, with a Yung-lo mark, is in the collection of Mr. Soame Jenyns in London.

Plates and boxes with figural decoration depicting legendary or historical scenes (group B) usually have sides or borders decorated with flowers and foliage closely related to the borders on specimens of group A. Yung-lo as well as Hsüan-tê marks are to be found on such pieces.

The plate illustrated in fig. 10<sup>4)</sup> is a typical example. The carving is done in bright cinnabar, the diapered background is also red, the smooth background of the borders is yellow. The carving of the background diapers, signifying soil, water and air<sup>5)</sup>, while not deep, is very clear and precise (figs. 11, 12). A Yung-lo mark is incised on the left of the reddish brown base.<sup>6)</sup>

A similar but smaller plate, also marked Yung-lo, but with a diapered rim, is in the collection of Mr. Russell Tyson in Chicago.

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<sup>1)</sup> One more box of this type is in the City Art Museum of St. Louis.

<sup>2)</sup> London, No. 1029.

<sup>3)</sup> London, No. 1420, and «Illustrated Catalogue of Chinese Government Exhibits for the International Exhibition of Chinese Art in London», vol. IV, Red Lacquer, No. 1, and S. Jenyns: plate 7 a.

<sup>4)</sup> See also Burlington, plate II A; Catalogue: Ausstellung Ostasiatische Malerei, Chinesisches Lackgerät, Österreichisches Museum für Kunst und Industrie, Vienna 1937, plate XVI, No. 26; Feddersen, Abb. 172.

<sup>5)</sup> See Burlington p. 171, paragraph 6.

<sup>6)</sup> Other pieces belonging to this group are: plate, Yung-lo mark, Victoria and Albert Museum, London; plate, Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, (this now has a Hsüan-tê mark, but I understand that traces of another, obliterated mark are visible underneath); box, Yung-lo mark, British Museum, publ. S. Jenyns, plate 6; box, Yung-lo mark, author's coll.; small plate, Yung-lo mark, author's coll.

The main panel of the table screen published by Col. Strange<sup>1)</sup> belongs undoubtedly to this group, but the mounting is much later. The back of the panel is lacquered dark brown, and it has been disfigured by floral sprays carved in wood, which were glued on probably at the same time as the mounting. The carved Hsüan-tê mark (fig. 13) retains traces of gold.

The foremost specimen of group C is the Imperial table (fig. 14), first published by Col. Strange.<sup>2)</sup> At that time it was believed to date from Wan-li's reign, and the Hsüan-tê mark (fig. 15), placed in the center of the inside rear apron, had not been discovered. This is cut with a knife, with traces of gold still visible, and it is somewhat similar to the mark of the table screen (fig. 13). The carving is done in red on an originally yellow background which has assumed a dirty buff colour. Underneath, the table is lacquered black; the three drawers are red outside and black inside.

Five-clawed dragons and phoenixes, combined with lotus flowers, form the principal theme of the decoration. This appears within the lobed compartment of the top (fig. 16), along its borders and on the drawers. Those side and rear panels of the apron which correspond with the drawers show lotus decoration only. The phoenixes in the four corners of the top (fig. 17), between the lobed compartment and the border, seem to be of a lesser species — they do not have long curling neck feathers, and their tails are simpler. The floral decoration of these four corners, as well as that of the sides of the top, the legs, and the narrow panels of the apron, shows peonies, chrysanthemums and prunus; it is again closely related to the flower borders of the other specimens of groups A and B. The vertical and horizontal ribs of the apron show lotus decor, which is rather conventionalized in case of the horizontal ones.

It may be observed that the surfaces of the lobed compartment and of the outer borders of the top (fig. 16) have a »rippled» character, contrasting with the smoother aspect of the corner sections between them. This is due to a treatment of the lotus decoration which differs from that observed on any flowers of group A and B. A conventionalized type of lotus was used, permitting a wealth of relatively small leaves and petals with many overlappings and curving in all directions. These are modelled strongly in a vertical direction, and many contours are emphasized by deeply cut grooves (figs. 17, 18). The lotus decoration on the drawers and on the respective panels of the apron and on the ribs, and the fungus decoration at the bottom of the apron are similarly treated.

The dragon within the lobed compartment (fig. 18) is rendered in a rising position; those of the border (fig. 17) are striding. The pupils of their eyes are black. The dragons are drawn in flowing curves emphasized by variations in the scales, which engenders the impression of vigorous strength so typical of this period. It is perhaps noteworthy that the fifth claw has been obliterated on all dragons. It was restored

<sup>1)</sup> Strange, plate III.

<sup>2)</sup> Strange, plates I, II; see also Feddersen, Abb. 174.

on all four legs of the principal dragon. This practice can be observed fairly frequently, and we may assume that such pieces had been removed from the palace prior to the revolution of 1911.

The phoenix within the lobed compartment is descending; those on the border float horizontally. The design within the lobed compartment is repeated with slight adjustments on the drawers.

The box shown in fig. 19 is carved in red lacquer on a yellow background. Its base is black with no mark. The top of the cover is decorated with a five-clawed dragon and with clouds. Clouds only are rendered on the side. The dragon is very closely related to the dragon on the table top (fig. 18). The round shape of the box apparently caused the change in the position of the forelegs, and its smaller size necessitated the alteration of a few minor details. The clouds are treated in the same manner as the lotus decoration on the table. They are strongly modelled, and contours are stressed by grooves.

Our photograph of the cupstand (fig. 20) shows a decoration of lotus flowers and the wingtips of phoenixes. Sir Leigh Ashton describes it as having a decor of phoenixes and lotus,<sup>1)</sup> and on his photograph a phoenix is fully visible. The catalogue of the International Exhibition of Chinese Art mentions dragon decoration.<sup>2)</sup> Sir Percival David cannot remember this detail, but he advised me not to rely on the exhibition catalogue. I am assuming, therefore, that the cupstand has no dragon decoration. This is of some importance because this piece is marked Yung-lo. The design and treatment of the phoenixes and the lotus closely resemble the same decoration on the table top.

I understand that the Palace Museum in Peiping owns a large bowl with dragon decoration, marked Hsüan-tê. I have not been able to obtain a photograph of this piece.

The second technique (painted and incised or filled in) is represented by only six specimens. Three of these have authentic Hsüan-tê marks. At this point I must apologize for the terminology used in naming this technique. »Painted and incised» was apparently introduced by Col. Strange for objects similar in appearance to the Japanese »zensei» lacquers.<sup>3)</sup> »Filled in» is my own addition for reasons which will be explained presently.

I have not been able to find a detailed description of this technique. An examination of some specimens convinced me that they are not »painted» in the generally accepted meaning of that word. I shall try to describe the results of my examination. Based on these observations are some theories concerning the technique. I wish to make it clear, though, that I have never seen a lacquer artisan at work,

<sup>1)</sup> Leigh Ashton: »The Exhibition of Chinese Art, V, Lacquers & Jades» plate II A. Burlington Magazine, January 1936.

<sup>2)</sup> London, No. 1402.

<sup>3)</sup> Strange, p. 19 bottom.

nor have I seen raw lacquer. My theories should therefore be taken as the suggestions of a layman, unfamiliar with the natural characteristics of the medium.

The box shown in fig. 21 shows a decoration of »li-ch'i» fruit and leaves within a circular medallion bordered by peonies and lotus. The flowers are bordered in turn by a narrow band of a thunder pattern. The lower part of the box is decorated with similar flowers again bordered by a thunder pattern. The »li-ch'i» and flower decoration has a sexagonal diaper background. The »li-ch'i» fruit and the blossoms are red, the leaves are green and the stems dark brown. The markings of the fruit, the veins and contours of the flowers, leaves, and stems are engraved and filled in with gold. The gold was applied thinly and does not obscure the engraved character of the lines or markings. The diaper is done in light brown on a black background. The thunder pattern is light and dark brown. The inside and the base are lacquered bright red.

Such a piece would have been called »painted and incised» by Col. Strange. The decoration does indeed look as if it were painted over the black background. The thunder pattern is damaged in one place. There the dark brown lacquer is missing; it appears to have fallen out, leaving relatively deep gaps with the light brown lacquer standing up ridge-like in between. Obviously this could not have happened if either colour had been painted over the other. The diaper is not damaged anywhere, and it certainly looked painted. Not being satisfied with a visual examination, I proceeded to grind down a small area of the diaper near the base. The light brown became much lighter, but I found that it extended into considerable depth. As the depth increased, these light areas or lines became progressively thinner. Here again was proof that the diaper was not painted over the black background. I suggest that at least the diaper and thunder pattern areas were done in the following manner. The entire areas were first coated with several layers of black, for the diaper area, and light brown, for the thunder pattern area. The designs were then carved out, and the resulting empty spaces were filled in with light brown and dark brown lacquer, respectively. The top layers of these »filled in» lacquers were apparently of a slightly different shade and probably also of a more superior quality than the lower layers. This technique would explain the gradual thinning of the diaper design as greater depth is reached. The star-like arrangement of petals as well as the sexagons surrounding them consist mainly of small, very narrow ellipses with pointed ends. In order to create such shapes, the carver could not cut vertically downwards; the ellipses, widest at the top, must have narrowed towards the bottom. Thus a cross-section of the cut would present an almost triangular appearance, the base of the triangle of course being at the top.

I cannot say whether the »li-ch'i» and flowers were done in the same way. It is possible that these areas were reserved during the application of the black lacquer and built up from the ground in their respective colours, as will be suggested for the cabinet (figs. 24/26). The basic decoration having been finished, the contours and markings would have been engraved and filled in with gold lacquer. These

engraved contours do not always follow the outlines of the colour areas with precision; occasional aberrations occur. As a final process, the box would have been ground and polished, thus creating an absolutely level surface for all the decoration with the exception of the sunken engravings.

The decoration of the box shown in fig. 22 is again arranged within a circular medallion surrounded by two borders. A bold lotus flower is used for the medallion, peonies and chrysanthemums on the wide borders, which are banded by narrow thunder patterns. A quadrangular diaper forms the background for the flower decoration. The flowers are done in shades of red and in yellow, the leaves in two shades of green, and veins and contours are either yellow or black. The very fine diaper is red and green on the cover (with yellow appearing underneath the green in a few worn places), and red and yellow on the lower part of the box. The thunder pattern is done in red and green. The inside and the base are lacquered bright red. On the base is the six-character mark of Hsüan-tê, cut with a knife and filled in with gold (fig. 23).

The cover of this box is worn and damaged. It is immediately apparent that the black lines forming veins and contours are raised slightly above the level of the rest of the decoration. Viewed with a magnifying glass, their curves do not appear freely flowing, as might be expected had they been simply laid on with a brush, but slight breaks rather characteristic of a sharp instrument can be observed. Their character is similar to that of the engraved and gold-filled contours on the box shown in fig. 21. Also the same aberrations from the outlines of the original colour areas can be found. Although I did not test the depth of the diaper decoration in this instance, there seems no reason to doubt that this box was made essentially in the same way as the first one. The fact that yellow appears underneath the green makes this even more plausible. Some shades were apparently achieved by partial grinding of the top layers of lacquer with lower layers of different hues either showing through or being laid completely open. The principal difference between the two boxes lies in the treatment of the contours and markings or veins. In this instance, these were engraved or possibly carved out, but thick applications of black and yellow lacquer were used, filling the grooves completely. Undoubtedly this box was ground and polished, too, and had a completely level surface when new. The lower part of the box is in relatively good condition, and there the surface is in fact almost level. I cannot offer any explanation for the apparently greater resistance against wear shown by the black lines.

The decoration of the cabinet (figs. 24—26) consists mainly of five-clawed dragons, phoenixes, clouds and lotus. Exact determination of the basic colours is difficult due to the technique of superimposing certain layers of one colour on others of a different shade. Grinding brought out some of these lower layers, either partly or completely, and wear has acted in a similar way, so that it is difficult to determine in some places whether a given shade was created intentionally or whether it resulted from wear. I think that the basic colours are: slightly blueish cinnabar-

red, orange-red, dark wine-red, dark green, green, ochre, brown, black and gold. Excepting minor details, the design is the same on all four sides and on the top. The removable front panel is worn, and its gold decoration almost gone. Therefore, the rear panel was chosen for the illustration (fig. 24). Behind the front panel is an arrangement of ten drawers (fig. 25).

The large dragons on the outer panels are done mainly in cinnabar and orange-red, used in such a way as to give a plastic appearance. Thus the body is darker along the spine and lighter along its underside. The eye pupils, mane, horns, beard, tufts of hair on the legs, and the claw-points are black. The zig-zag line running along the spine is done in cinnabar and overlaid along its base with ochre. The dark band along the dragons underside is green and black. All thin lines and contours, mostly appearing white on the reproduction, are engraved and filled in with gold. The head and neck of the large phoenix is cinnabar. The eye is ochre with a black pupil and a black contour. The two-tongued crest, sweeping backwards from the beak, is very dark green. The curls starting at the nape of the neck are also dark green but slightly lighter than the crest. The body feathers and the upper parts of the wings are cinnabar and ochre. The first row of wing feathers on each side is very dark green and orange-red; the second row and the long feathers of the wing-tips are wine-red and cinnabar. The two triangles at the end of the two rows of wing feathers are green. The tail begins with five small black curls followed by short dark green feathers. The seven long tail feathers are wine red and cinnabar. All details appearing whitish on the reproduction are again engraved and filled in with gold. The clouds and lotus flowers are done in a variety of colour combinations, differing on each panel. The feathers of the phoenixes in the corners are each done in only one colour, ochre on the body and on the long wing and tail feathers, dark green on the first row of wing feathers and orange-red on the second. All these are, however, also ornamented with gold. The dragons and phoenixes on the drawers are executed in different and simpler colour combinations than those within the lobed compartments of the main panels.

Cinnabar is used as a background in the four corners and on the borders of the main panels. Within the lobed compartments and on the drawers, the background consists of small holes, apparently drilled individually, side by side into black lacquer. (Fig. 26). On the main panels many of these holes are entirely or partly filled with some light greyish matter. Those on the drawers are mostly empty. I think that the drawers, enjoying the protection of the front panel, may be taken to represent the original condition and that the filling in the holes is an accumulation of dirt and possibly wax, used for polishing by various owners. I have come across this type of background on only two other specimens to be described presently. On these, the holes are filled in with lacquer. It may be that this technique is related to the »tsuan-hsi« mentioned in the Ko-ku-yao-lun<sup>1)</sup> as having been practised during the Sung period.

<sup>1)</sup> »Materialien«, p. 217, paragraph 8.

The top panel of the cabinet is considerably worn, especially along some of the cracks where the lacquer is warped. In these places a light yellow layer of lacquer is laid bare. On this light yellow lacquer, thinly engraved tracings of the decoration and small dark grey dots of somewhat uneven diameter can be observed. Most of these dots are actually shallow cavities, and they are obviously the bottoms of the small holes of the background. Their uneven diameter results from uneven wear of the yellow layer; with increasing depth the holes get progressively smaller. In some places less exposed to wear, one can observe a very narrow uneven rim of brownish red running along the borderline of the black background. This indicates that at least one layer of red lacquer was inserted between the yellow layers and the superimposed black layers.

The tracing of the design seems to suggest that this yellow layer was used as a base from which the decoration was built up. Theoretically this could have been done by proceeding either horizontally or vertically. In the first instance, the artisan would have applied the different colours of the first layer side by side, covering the entire space at an even level. Following layers would of course be done in the same way. In a vertical procedure, the artisan would have started with one colour only, applying the required number of layers wherever the design called for the particular colour. He would start on another colour only after all details of the first colour had reached the necessary thickness.

It is, however, possible that the tracings appearing on the yellow layer resulted in cutting or engraving the design from above, just as the small grey dots are the remnants of the holes. In this case, the entire decoration might have been done in the technique suggested for the background diaper of the *»li-ch'i»* decorated box (fig. 21).

If we assume that the decoration was built up from the yellow layer, the entire work would have proceeded along the following lines. The usual preliminary work having been finished, several layers of yellow lacquer were applied. Then design was thinly engraved. This was followed by the application of coloured lacquers in several layers, according to the design, using either the horizontal or the vertical process. Different colours were frequently superimposed upon each other, resulting in various subtle shades. At the end of this process the basic design would be completed and the engraver could take over. The engraved lines were then filled in with gold lacquer, but some appear to have received a black undercoating first. Some of the small holes can be seen to *»bite»* into the engraved lines, suggesting that the drilling was left almost to the last. The finished work would then again be ground and polished.

The flat-topped box with bold lotus decor (fig. 27)<sup>1)</sup> has a *Hsüan-tê* mark cut with a knife. Unfortunately I failed to obtain a detailed description of this piece when I saw it in Berlin about 13 years ago. So far as I can remember, the colours

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<sup>1)</sup> See also S. Jenyns, plate 8 c.

were red, green and gold. The photograph indicates at least one or two additional colours, and I am inclined to think that the colour scheme was similar to that used on the cabinet. The small holes were, however, drilled into a light and probably yellow background, and almost all were filled with a dark lacquer. There seems little doubt that this box and the cabinet were done in the same technique.

Except for the use of the »small hole» background the box with »three friends» decoration (fig. 28) resembles the box in fig. 22, because neither has engraved lines or any gold decoration. The relationship can best be observed on the borders using peony and chrysanthemum decoration in both cases. On the left side of the base is a Hsüan-tê mark, cut with a knife and filled in with gold (fig. 29). A comparison of this mark with that of the lotus-decorated box (fig. 23) will again show a close relationship between them. The range of colours includes cinnabar, dark green, green, brown, orange-red, ochre and black. The body is lacquered cinnabar inside and outside, the bamboo leaves and the pine needles are dark green, the prunus blossoms are orange-red shaded with ochre, the boughs are brown and green, and the butterflies brown and dark green. The contours are ochre. The first circular band enclosing the principal decoration is ochre, partly overlaid with orange-red, which appears as a slightly darker stripe on the photograph. This band is bordered by a thin black circle edged on the outside by cinnabar. The small holes are drilled into the cinnabar background and filled in with black lacquer. The level of the fillings is now slightly lower than the rims of the holes, and a few of the holes on the side of the box are now empty. The ochre contours partly cover some of the holes so that they must have been applied after the drilling, reversing the procedure followed in the work of the cabinet.

I have never had an opportunity to examine the small box with cloud decoration belonging to the Royal Scottish Museum in Edinburgh (fig. 30), but it seems to belong to our group. According to the description I received, it is lacquered red, the top is »inlaid and painted» with fungus-shaped clouds on a diaper background of inlaid yellow. The sides are decorated with relatively wide thunder-fret patterns inlaid in black lacquer. Some clouds are done in graded washes of blackish blue, one cloud is sage green with a yellow center, and touches of yellow appear on some other clouds. The remaining clouds are in a »flat» red of a vermillion shade (i. e. less purplish) than the colour of the ground. It is possible that the red clouds may originally have been blackish blue too. The outlines of the clouds are gold. The base has apparently been relacquered at a later time and a Hsüan-tê mark was partly obliterated. Another Hsüan-tê mark was then cut into the base.

The style of decoration of the »painted and incised» or »filled in» specimens is closely related to the carved group. This applies especially to the drawing of individual details. The close-knit arrangement of the design into an all-over pattern showing almost no background is not used in this technique. So far I have not come across any specimen with figural decoration, a fact probably without significance in view of the very small number of pieces belonging to this group.

The »li-ch'i» decor of the box in fig. 21 has no parallel among the carved group discussed before, but fig. 31 shows a doublesided box which can probably be attributed to our period and possibly even to the Imperial workshop. The drawing of the details, especially of the leaves and stems, shows the same sensitive curves. There is also similar boldness of composition; i. e. the proportions of the decoration and its carrier are about the same. The peonies on the border are related to those on the box shown in fig. 22.

The theme and composition of the lotus within the circular medallion of the box in fig. 22, are closely related to the lotus decoration on the cover of the carved box in fig. 1. The lotus flowers and leaves are more stylized, and they show the »double contour» used on the table top (figs. 16, 18). Their drawing is also related to the lotus of the table top but even more so to that of the cabinet (figs. 24, 26). Though arranged in a tendril, the flower border resembles all the carved flower borders.

The most surprising affinity exists, however, between the dragons and phoenixes of the cabinet and of the table. Not only are the general scheme and boldness of the composition the same on both pieces, but the drawing is almost identical. The lobed compartments of the cabinet are shorter than that of the table top. This probably accounts for the slight differences in the position of the »animals», notably the direction of the dragons' tails. A close comparison of the two dragons' heads (figs. 18, 26), to choose just one example, will show that the original drawings which served as cartoons for the lacquer designs must have been the work of the same man. Mouth, nose, antennae, eyes, eyebrows, beard, mane and horns are all exactly alike. At first glance, it might appear as if the carved dragon did not have the dark band running along the underside of his »painted» counterpart, but this too is indicated by a change in the shape of the scales, best seen on that part of the body immediately opposite and slightly below the head. The phoenixes, too, are exactly alike. The dragon on the cabinet's bottom drawer (fig. 25) may be compared with the striding dragons on the borders of the table top. In this instance there is one slight difference: the body of the »painted» dragon shows one smooth curve between the two pairs of legs; the corresponding curve of the carved dragon is drawn more sensitively with slight variations in direction on its rear part. This seems to give some additional vibrant strength to the carved dragons. Other details, like the lotus flowers and lotus borders, are similarly related. The clouds of the cabinet can, in turn, be found on the carved box with dragon decoration (fig. 19).

There can of course be no doubt that both the cabinet and the table were made for the palace, but the cabinet has no mark. I am inclined to attribute it to Yung-lo's reign, for the reasons outlined before. The apparent fact that the cartoons for the decoration of these two pieces, one carved, one »painted», were drawn by the same artist throws an interesting light on the working methods of this period. It is probable that the elaborate techniques used for lacquer work were instru-

mental in preserving the original designs, eliminating all changes which might have been introduced by the executing artisans. Had the decoration been painted freely, as for instance on the blue and white porcelains, it could scarcely fail to show the hand of the executing artisan besides that of the original designer.

It may be well to summarise the relationships existing between these pieces of the Imperial workshop group:

Closely related flower borders appear on Figs. 1, 5, 8, 10, (and on the similar pieces listed), 14, 22 and 23.

Closely related dragons and (or) phoenixes: Figs. 16, 19, 20, 24/25.

Closely related clouds: Figs. 19, 24, 30.

»Small hole» background: Figs. 24—26, 27, 28.

Specimen fig. 6: The peony decoration is related to the flower borders.

Specimen fig. 9: Related to two boxes with narcissus decoration.

Specimen fig. 22: Related to figs. 1, 18, 24—26 and 27.

Specimen fig. 21: Related to 22.

It will be seen that each specimen, regardless of the decorative theme and of technique, is somehow closely related to one or more pieces which in turn are related to still other ones. The whole might be compared to the links in a chain.

#### Group 2.

The second group, specimens similar to some in group 1, contains only three boxes. In the boldness of their decorative design and in the quality of the lacquer they are similar to the Imperial specimens. All three are »double-sided», being decorated on the base as well as on the cover.

The treatment of the »li-ch'i» decoration on the box in fig. 31 is somewhat similar to that on the box in fig. 21. The composition of the design and the quality of the drawing are superior to the several other boxes with carved »li-ch'i» decoration I have seen. This piece was not included in group 1 only because of insufficient evidence. The »li-ch'i» motif cannot be easily developed into an all-over pattern, and it is likely that the diaper background was chosen for that reason.

The box with prunus decoration (fig. 32) is very deeply carved but the treatment is somewhat coarse. The colour is slightly darker red than usual. In the absence of further evidence, this box must be dated tentatively 15th to early 16th century.

The third box (fig. 33), with figural decoration, presents a more difficult problem. The treatment of the figures, rocks and trees is very similar to group 1 specimens, but the diaper background is much more dense and carved with less precision. On the decoration of the back (fig. 34), the »soil» diaper is replaced by smooth uncarved lacquer on which some grass is indicated through engraving. The black interior is very shiny, which may be due to relacquering. If this box is not an early 15th century piece, then it is probably a Japanese copy of inconsiderable age.

Group 3.

There is no comparable material within group 1 which can be directly related to the two specimens belonging to group 3. Even so, there seems little doubt that the two boxes to be described do belong to our period.

The box shown in fig. 35 is unusual in construction and decoration. It is rectangular and relatively narrow. The cover is made to slide forward, and the front panel can also be removed by sliding it upward. About 10 mm. behind the front panel is another panel ending above the bottom of the box. Under this second panel is a little drawer extending through the entire length of the box. The floor of the box is above this drawer and has a shallow depression for an ink slab in its center. The entire interior of the box has been relacquered in Japan, and it may be that the structural arrangement was also altered at that time.

The outside of the box is lacquered black. The decoration is painted in whitish, reddish and yellow gold and high-lighted with black lines and mother-of-pearl inlay. The cover is considerably worn and it can be seen that the gold is applied over several layers of reddish brown lacquer. This reddish brown lacquer seems to have been really painted over the black background; it is slightly raised, and black lacquer appears in some places where even the brown has worn away. The gold seems to have been painted over the brown. The mother-of-pearl was apparently put in before the last layer of brown lacquer was applied. It was then covered with lacquer and laid free by subsequent grinding. Dr. Maenchen-Helfen in his translation from the Tsun-sheng-pa-chien<sup>1)</sup> mentions a combination of gold powder and mother-of-pearl inlay resembling »clouds in a sunset«. The decoration on this box does indeed give such an impression — allowing for the poetical exaggeration of the Chinese author — owing to the reddish base shining through the gold.

The theme of decoration, five-clawed dragons above waves, suggests that this box was an Imperial piece. Apart from the appearance of the lacquer, suggesting considerable age, my reasons for attributing this piece to our period are based on the style of the decoration. The two pairs of dragons on the long sides of the box are related to some on the blue and white porcelains of the period.<sup>2)</sup> The entire decoration on these sides is also very closely related to the decor of the two gold plaques formerly in the Eumorfopoulos collection.<sup>3)</sup> The position of the dragons is reversed on that side of the box not visible on the photo, which makes it identical with the plaque. The border scroll also can frequently be found on porcelains. Although the full-face position of the dragons on the cover and on the front and rear panels is extremely rare at that time, it does occur on some white Yung-lo porcelain bowls, on two K'o-ssu fragments<sup>4)</sup> said to have been found with the

<sup>1)</sup> »Materialien«, p. 219, last paragraph.

<sup>2)</sup> Brankston, frontispiece, plate 18.

<sup>3)</sup> Sotheby & Co.: The Eumorfopoulos Collections, London 1940, No. 515.

<sup>4)</sup> Sotheby & Co.: The Eumorfopoulos Collections, London 1940, Nos. 507/8.

gold pieces of the Eumorfopoulos collection and on two carved and lacquered wooden ceiling panels.<sup>1)</sup>

The box shown in fig. 36 has an unusual foliate shape. It is relatively light, and I am inclined to think that it was made in the »dry lacquer« technique, in which cloth only is used as basic material. It is lacquered black over red, also on the inside, with the red now appearing on the surface where the black has worn off. The decoration is engraved and filled in with gold.

The foliate shape, while not found on any of the other boxes, occurs frequently on the rims of porcelain plates and also on the lacquer dish in Sir Percival David's collection, listed in group 1. The decoration of two phoenixes and lotus flowers is drawn with the elegance and grace characteristic of this period. In fig. 37 I am illustrating the decoration painted on the inside of an early 15th-century blue and white stemcup, now in the collection of Mr. F. M. Mayer.<sup>2)</sup> Its likeness to the decoration on the lacquer box is the more striking because such close relationship between lacquers and porcelains can not be observed on any other pieces.

#### Group 4.

The specimens of group 4 may be ascribed to our period with varying degrees of probability. The first, a dish in the shape of a lotus leaf (fig. 38), has an engraved Hsüan-tê mark on the convex center of the base (fig. 39).<sup>3)</sup> The piece is considerably worn on the top, and the rim is repaired in several places. Its technique seems similar to that of box fig. 28, but its background is smooth cinnabar. Besides cinnabar, the colour scheme includes orange-red, yellow, green, brown and black. Greyish black appears in the worn places.

The decoration of the dish with its Sanskrit inscription has a Lamaistic character. The petals of the large lotus flower surrounding the center on the inside are cinnabar, orange-red, brown and yellow. The Sanskrit letters are done in yellow on green petals bordered by cinnabar, orange-red and brown. The circle in the center is cinnabar and yellow. The background of the central character is now a greyish black. The border is executed in green and yellow. The back is also done in green and yellow with cinnabar background, but the green lines radiating from the center are rimmed with black.

The style of the lotus petals is reminiscent of those on box fig. 1, but no other points of comparison can be found. Sanskrit inscriptions occur on the porcelains of the early 15th as well as the late 16th century.<sup>4)</sup> The dish is undoubtedly of

<sup>1)</sup> A. J. B. Kiddell: »Further Note on a Pair of Blue and White Vases from the Tomb of the Emperor Hsüan Tê», *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, vol. 22, plate 18 c; Philadelphia, p. 72.

<sup>2)</sup> Philadelphia, cat. No. 77.

<sup>3)</sup> The mark is barely visible on the photograph and disappears completely in the reproduction.

<sup>4)</sup> Philadelphia, No. 68; R. L. Hobson: »The George Eumorfopoulos Collection Catalogue of the Chinese, Corean and Persian Pottery and Porcelain», vol. IV, No. D 38.

the Ming period, I would not attempt a more precise attribution from the evidence available at this time.

In 1936 I published the square box with carved »li-ch'i» and bird decoration (fig. 40) as representing the B style during Hsüan-tê's reign.<sup>1)</sup> The conception and execution of the decoration is bold and vigorous in comparison with 16th-century specimens with similar motifs but not sufficiently related to accepted 15th-century pieces to permit a definite attribution. A four-character Hsüan-tê mark is cut into the center of the base, but it seems of doubtful authenticity.

The box shown in fig. 41 represents a group of three similar specimens.<sup>2)</sup> They are lacquered black and the decoration is inlaid with relatively thick mother-of-pearl. The design of the lotus tendrils is very similar to that of the blue and white porcelains of our period. It is also simpler and bolder than the similar decoration on 16th-century specimens.<sup>3)</sup> I think that these three pieces can be assumed to date from the 15th century but they may be Korean rather than Chinese.

The painted and mother-of-pearl inlaid box (fig. 42) heads a group of four related pieces. All four have Hsüan-tê marks, but two may confidently be taken for 16th-century »copies». Technically they are related to the box fig. 36, but their style of decoration, reminiscent of album leaf paintings, is wholly different. On all four pieces the inlay is integrated with the painting, being used as a substitute for an additional colour of lacquer. On fig. 36, small rectangular or diamond-shaped pieces of inlay high-light certain details of the decoration, but on these four pieces the mother-of-pearl is cut in the shapes of leaves or flowers and becomes an inseparable part of the entire composition.

The decoration of the box fig. 42, is painted in red, green and yellow over an originally black and now brownish background. Some leaves and what appears to be gravel, appearing almost white in the reproduction, are inlaid. The brownish lacquer is covered with a net of fine crackles. The six-character mark on the top of the cover is cut with a knife and filled in with gold. The painting is done with considerably more finesse and attention to detail than on the other three specimens. This and other differences suggest that this box might be an authentic Hsüan-tê piece.

The second piece, a large covered bowl in the collection of Dr. E. A. Voretzsch,<sup>4)</sup> seems related to fig. 42 in the location of the mark, which is placed here along the upper rim. The writing of the mark is inferior, however, and the painting of the decoration seems more crude. The photograph in my possession is not good

<sup>1)</sup> Burlington, plates I C, II C.

<sup>2)</sup> In the German State Museums, Berlin, publ. Feddersen, Abb. 161 and L. Reidemeister: »Chinesische Lacke», Weltkunst, Jahrg. VII, No. 51, Dez. 1933; in the collection of Mrs. C. G. Verburgt, The Hague, publ. H. F. E. Visser: »Asiatic Art», plate 277 upper.

<sup>3)</sup> See Feddersen, Abb. 162.

<sup>4)</sup> London, No. 1399.

enough to judge the quality of the lacquer, and it is impossible for me to say whether this bowl should be grouped with fig. 42 or with the following two 16th-century boxes.

**Group. 5.**

Of the specimens in this group, I illustrate only one (fig. 43); the other, a companion piece, was illustrated by Mr. Jenyns.<sup>1)</sup> Both boxes have six-character marks cut with a knife but these are located on the top of the base and written in a style differing from the mark on fig. 42 (fig. 44). The decoration, pomegranates with leaves and one blossom on the cover, and a floral tendril on the side, is painted in two shades of green, yellow, red and brown. Some of the leaves on the cover and some leaves and blossoms on the side are inlaid. The background is a smooth and rather glossy black. I had originally accepted all specimens as Hsüan-tê. When I became aware of the relatively frequent occurrence of Hsüan-tê marks on late 16th-century specimens, I revised my opinion about the two boxes for the following reasons. The marks differ considerably from those found on specimens of group 1. The floral tendrils on the sides of both boxes are related to others found on Wan-li pieces. The sides of a large double chest are closely related to the boxes. The front of this chest is inlaid with »pierres dures»; its type has generally been attributed to the late Ming period. This date is also supported by the decoration of the engraved brass plaques of the locks and the hinges. There can be no doubt that the boxes and this chest are of the same date, and a Hsüan-tê attribution for the chest is highly unlikely; I believe all three pieces can be given to Wan-li's reign.

Fig. 45 shows one of a pair of small drum-shaped jars. It is »painted and incised» and »filled in» and may be the product of an official workshop. Its decoration consists of four lobed compartments separated by a square diaper design and containing alternately dragons and figural scenes. These are bordered by a lotus tendril above and a row of petals below. The background is cinnabar and black; dark ochre, two shades of green and brown are used in the decoration. The engraved lines and markings were filled in with gold which has almost worn away. One of the dragons is done in ochre, the other is dark green. The Hsüan-tê mark on the brown base (fig. 46) is cut with a knife and filled in with gold of which some traces remain.

There cannot be any doubt that this pair was made in the second half of the 16th century, probably during Wan-li's reign. The dragons are relatively lifeless with thin elongated bodies. The use of a diaper between lobed compartments is typical of the late 16th century; it scarcely occurs on either lacquers or porcelains during the early 15th century. The writing of the mark also is not convincing. It runs along of almost the whole diameter of the base, while authentic marks usually seem to be shorter.

<sup>1)</sup> Compare with the dragons on three Hsüan-tê porcelain dishes: Brankston, plate 17; London No. 1456; *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, vol. 22, plate 19, No. 23.

Another and important specimen is the large covered jar in the collection of Sir Percival David.<sup>1)</sup> This has a Hsüan-tê mark which I have not seen. I seem to remember that its base is covered with a brass plaque carrying a Ch'ien-lung inscription. This jar differs from the official products of either the 15th or the 16th century. It can, however, be related to some 16th-century pieces: The border on the shoulder of the jar, showing flowers and birds, is similar to the decoration on the sides of a metal-inlaid lacquer box with an unquestionable Wan-li mark. The widespread use of striation on petals and leaves is characteristic of the Wan-li period.<sup>2)</sup> Then there is the diaper background between the lobed compartments which we have already recognized as a 16th-century feature. The colour combination, black on a pinkish red background, appears frequently on late Ming and on Ch'ing pieces, often carved in a style reminiscent of the early 15th century, but I have never seen it on an original of our period. The jar has indeed a certain relationship with a rectangular box in the Victoria and Albert Museum<sup>3)</sup> which probably dates from the Wan-li period. On both specimens the usual »air» diaper has been replaced by others; the balustrades are richly decorated, a feature not to be found on other pieces. There is no doubt in my mind that the jar is a product of the second half of the 16th century.

I have also come across two carved red specimens of the late 16th century with cut and gilded Yung-lo marks, but since I have no photographs of these pieces and they are not published anywhere I am unable to discuss them in detail.

Trying to compare the lacquers with other artifacts of the period, we must turn to the porcelains of Chingtechen as the only group which has been sufficiently identified. The character and production technique of porcelain are very different, and therefore the two groups are not closely related. The porcelain material consists largely of plates, bowls, vases and stemcups. A comparison of the shapes must be restricted to the plates as the only type which is common to both materials. (We must disregard the one bowl in the Palace Museum because no photograph is available). Here we observe a preference for foliated rims in both groups.

The decoration of the porcelains is of bold design, but it never quite assumes the character of an all-over pattern. The nearest approach to such a pattern may be found on some of the rare specimens where the decoration is reserved in white on a blue background. The lotus decoration on a Hsüan-tê bowl in the collection of M. Jean-Pierre Dubosc<sup>4)</sup> is similar to the same motif on the table top (fig. 18), but it still retains the scroll arrangement usually found on the porcelains. On both lacquers and porcelains, the same repertory is used for flower decoration; lotus, peonies and chrysanthemums occur frequently on bowls and plates. The

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<sup>1)</sup> London, No. 1401.

<sup>2)</sup> Burlington, p. 172, paragraph 8.

<sup>3)</sup> Strange, plate VIII left.

<sup>4)</sup> Philadelphia, No. 53.

conventionalized lotus of the lacquer box in fig. 2 occurs with slight variations on some »lien-tzu» bowls.<sup>1)</sup> The »three friends» decoration, represented by a single lacquer specimen, is rare also among the porcelains.

There is much similarity in the drawing of the dragons. Although varying in quality it maintains the vigorous character. The striding dragons on the border of the table top (fig. 17) and on the bottom drawer of the cabinet (fig. 25) are very closely related to those on a stemcup illustrated by Brankston<sup>2)</sup>, on the large Hsüan-tê jar in the Metropolitan Museum of Art,<sup>3)</sup> on a »mei p'ing» vase in my collection<sup>4)</sup> and on a bowl in the collection of Mr. Roy Leventritt.<sup>5)</sup> The »rising» dragons are usually rendered with gaping mouths on the porcelains. That on a dish illustrated by Brankston<sup>6)</sup> can, however, be compared with the dragon on the cabinet (fig. 24). The dragon on a second dish<sup>7)</sup> can be compared with the principal dragon on the table top (fig. 18) and with that on the box fig. 19, but it is not drawn quite so well as the others.

I have already mentioned the relationship between the decoration of the box fig. 41 and that of a number of porcelains.

I have tried to mention all specimens of lacquer which have come to my attention,<sup>8)</sup> except a few doubtful pieces which I have been unable to classify from the poor photographs at my disposal. Ming lacquer has never received much attention from either scholars or collectors. The dealers made no attempts to find such pieces in China, and undoubtedly a number of specimens remained in that country, quite apart from the government collections. We may also assume that some pieces remain in the houses of the West, unheeded among other decorative objects. Probably Japanese collections also contain hitherto unpublished material. In recent years interest in the porcelains of the 15th century has increased greatly. I hope that this modest paper may help to rescue the lacquers from their relative obscurity.

In conclusion I would like to thank Mr. Tomita and Mr. Wallis for the descriptions of the pieces belonging to their respective museums and Miss Jean Mailey for revising my text.

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<sup>1)</sup> Philadelphia, No. 50.

<sup>2)</sup> Brankston, plate 10 c.

<sup>3)</sup> Philadelphia, No. 47.

<sup>4)</sup> Philadelphia, No. 72.

<sup>5)</sup> Philadelphia, No. 58.

<sup>6)</sup> Brankston, plate 17.

<sup>7)</sup> Brankston, plate 21 a.

<sup>8)</sup> It was only after this paper had gone to the printer that I learned of the existence of another specimen. This is a cylindrical vessel, with carved decoration of dragons, peonies and clouds, in the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology in Toronto. I understand that a metal plaque with a Yung-lo mark is attached to it, obviously a later addition. I regret that no photograph of this piece is available now, I have seen neither the original nor a photograph myself.

ABBREVIATIONS:

Burlington = F. Low-Bear & O. Maenchen-Helfen: »Carved Red Lacquer of the Ming Period», *Burlington Magazine*, October 1936.

»Materialien« = Otto Maenchen-Helfen: »Materialien zur Geschichte des chinesischen Lacks», *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, Nov./Dez. 1937.

London = Catalogue of the International Exhibition of Chinese Art, London, 1935/6.

Feddersen = Martin Feddersen: »Chinesisches Kunstgewerbe», Berlin 1939.

S. Jenyns = Soame Jenyns: »Chinese Lacquer», *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, vol. 17.

Strange = Edward F. Strange: »Chinese Lacquer», London 1936.

Brankston = A. D. Brankston: »Early Ming Wares of Chingtechen», Peking, 1938.

Philadelphia = »Ming Blue and White», *Philadelphia Museum Bulletin* No. 223, 1949.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS, PLATES 1—30.

Fig. 1. Box, early 15th cent., diam. 187 mm., height 65 mm., author's collection.

Fig. 2. Box, Hsüan-tê mark and period, diam. 55 mm., collection of Mr. Carl Kempe, Stockholm.

Fig. 3. Reverse of fig. 2.

Fig. 4. Top of foot-stool, early 15th cent., length 510 mm., width 196 mm., author's collection.

Fig. 5. Side view of fig. 4, length 530 mm., width 210 mm., height 148 mm.

Fig. 6. Box, early 15th cent., diam. 83 mm., author's collection.

Fig. 7. Box, early 15th cent., diam. 190 mm., height 95 mm., collection of Mr. and Mrs. F. M. Mayer, New York.

Fig. 8. Side view of fig. 7.

Fig. 9. Plate, Hsüan-tê mark and period, diam. 188 mm., Chinese Government collection.

Fig. 10. Plate, early 15th cent., diam. 345 mm., author's collection.

Fig. 11. Detail of fig. 10 showing »soil« diaper.

Fig. 12. Detail of fig. 10 showing »water« and »air« diapers.

Fig. 13. Hsüan-tê mark of table screen. Length of inscription 65 mm.

Fig. 14. Imperial table, Hsüan-tê mark and period. Length 1195 mm., width 845 mm., height 792 mm., author's collection.

Fig. 15. Hsüan-tê mark of fig. 14. Length of inscription 65 mm.

Fig. 16. Top of fig. 14.

Fig. 17. Upper left corner of fig. 16.

Fig. 18. Right center of fig. 16.

Fig. 19. Box, early 15th cent., diam. 180 mm., height 70 mm., author's collection.

Fig. 20. Cup-stand, early 15th cent., height 92 mm., collection of Sir Percival David, London.

Fig. 21. Box, early 15th cent., diam. 92 mm., height 40 mm., author's collection.

Fig. 22. Box, Hsüan-tê mark and period, diam. 83 mm., height 37 mm., author's collection.

Fig. 23. Reverse of fig. 22.

Fig. 24. Rear view of Imperial cabinet, early 15th cent. Length 568 mm., width 420 mm., height 490 mm., author's collection.

Fig. 25. Front view of fig. 24 with protecting panel removed.

Fig. 26. Detail showing dragon head from fig. 24.

Fig. 27. Box, Hsüan-tê mark and period. Diam. ca. 180 mm., German State Museums, Berlin. Present owner unknown.

Fig. 28. Box, Hsüan-tê mark and period, diam. 146 mm., height 70 mm. Private collection, Washington, D. C.

Fig. 29. Mark of fig. 28.

Fig. 30. Box, early 15th cent., diam. 63 mm., courtesy of the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh.

Fig. 31. Box, probably early 15th cent., diam. 82 mm., height 35 mm., author's collection.

Fig. 32. Box, probably early 15th cent., diam. 83 mm., height 43 mm., author's collection.

Fig. 33. Box, possibly early 15th cent., diam. 113 mm., height 40 mm., author's collection.

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Fig. 35. Box, early 15th cent., length 178 mm., width 87 mm., height 125 mm., author's collection.

Fig. 36. Box, early 15th cent., diam. 125 mm., height 75 mm., author's collection.

Fig. 37. Decoration of the inside of an early 15th cent. blue and white porcelain stemcup, collection of Mr. and Mrs. F. M. Mayer, New York.

Fig. 38. Dish, perhaps early 15th cent., length 243 mm., width 158 mm., height 37 mm., author's collection.

Fig. 39. Reverse of fig. 38.

Fig. 40. Box, possibly early 15th cent., length and width 125 mm., height 80 mm., author's collection.

Fig. 41. Box, probably early 15th cent. but probably Korean, length 345 mm., collection of Mrs. J. E. Westendorp, Amsterdam.

Fig. 42. Box, probably Hsüan-tê period, diam. 207 mm., height 78 mm., courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Fig. 43. Box, late 16th cent., diam. 240 mm., height 82 mm., author's coll.

Fig. 44. Hsüan-tê mark of fig. 43, length of inscription 61 mm.

Fig. 45. Jar, late 16th cent., height 92 mm., author's collection.

Fig. 46. Base of fig. 45, length of inscription 63 mm.









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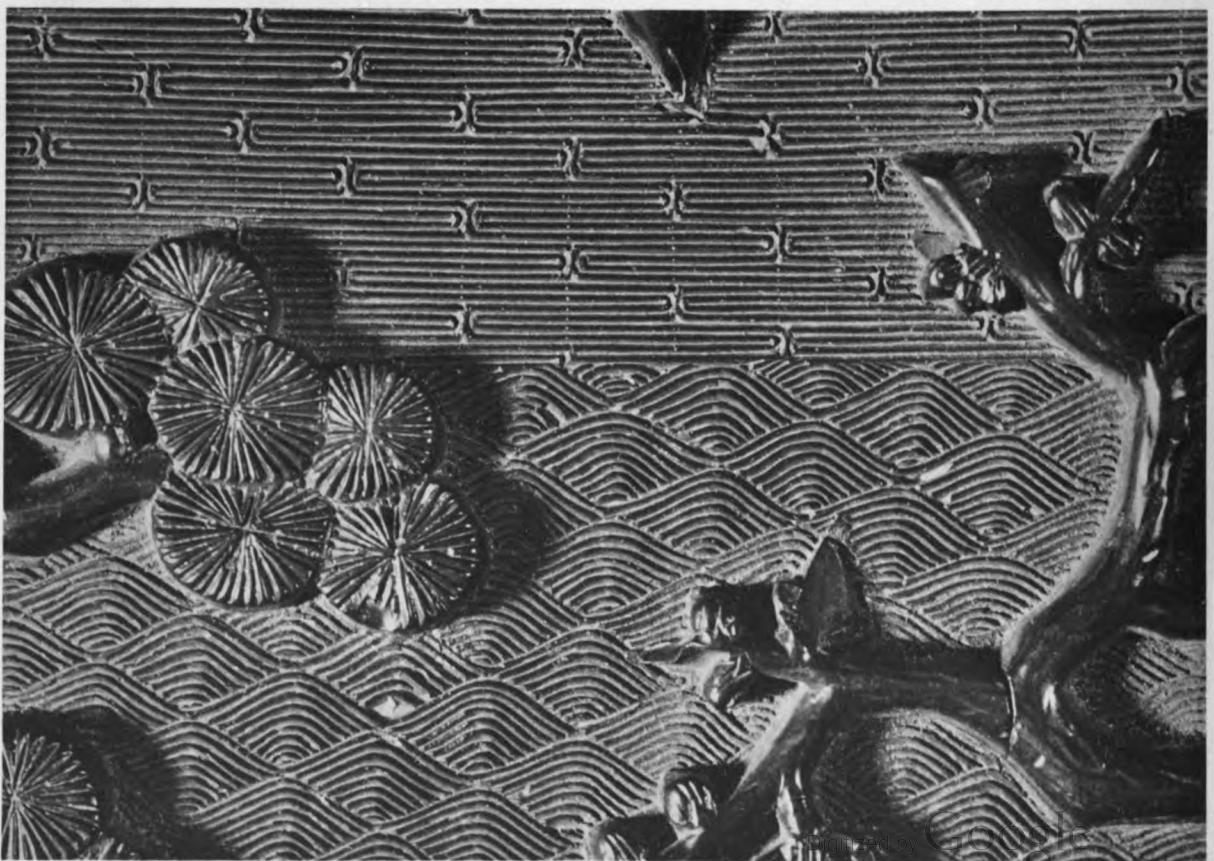








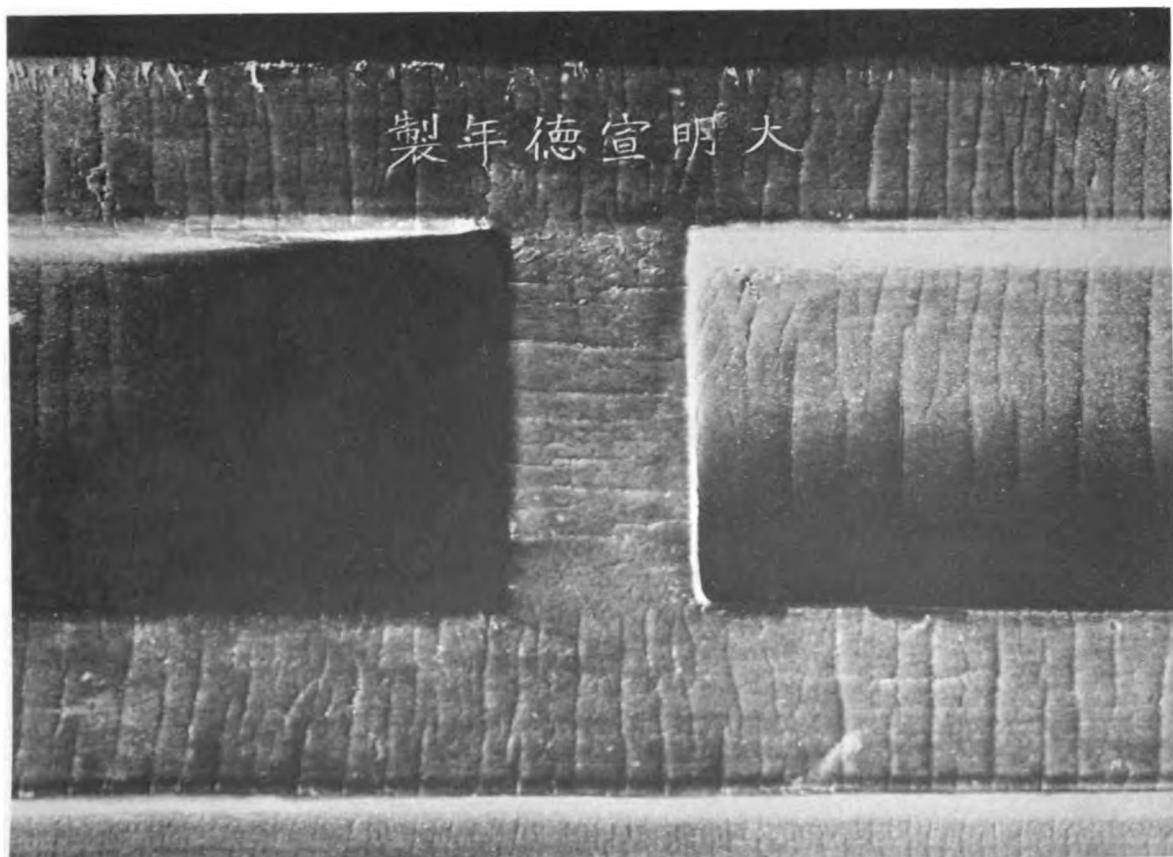
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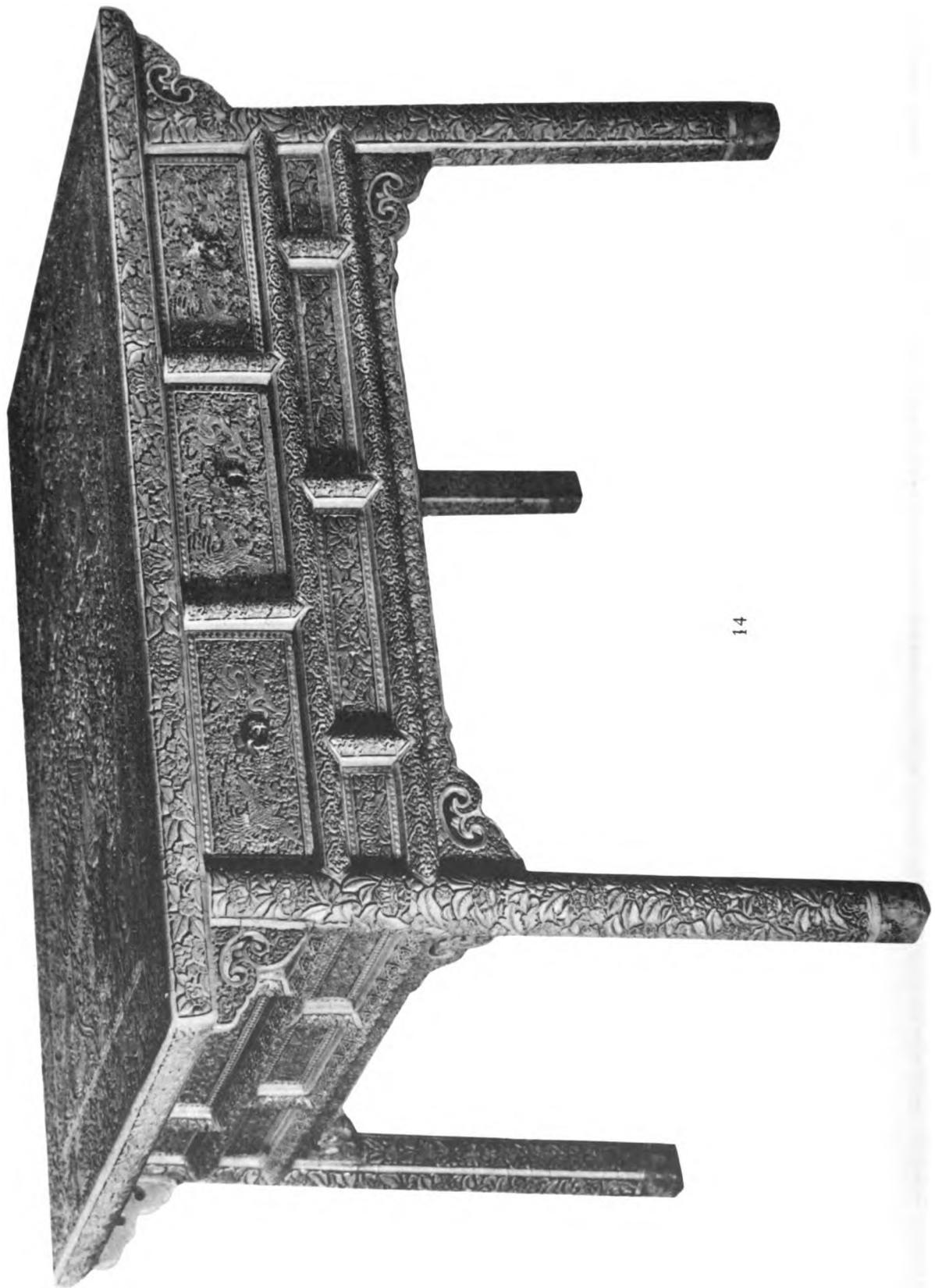
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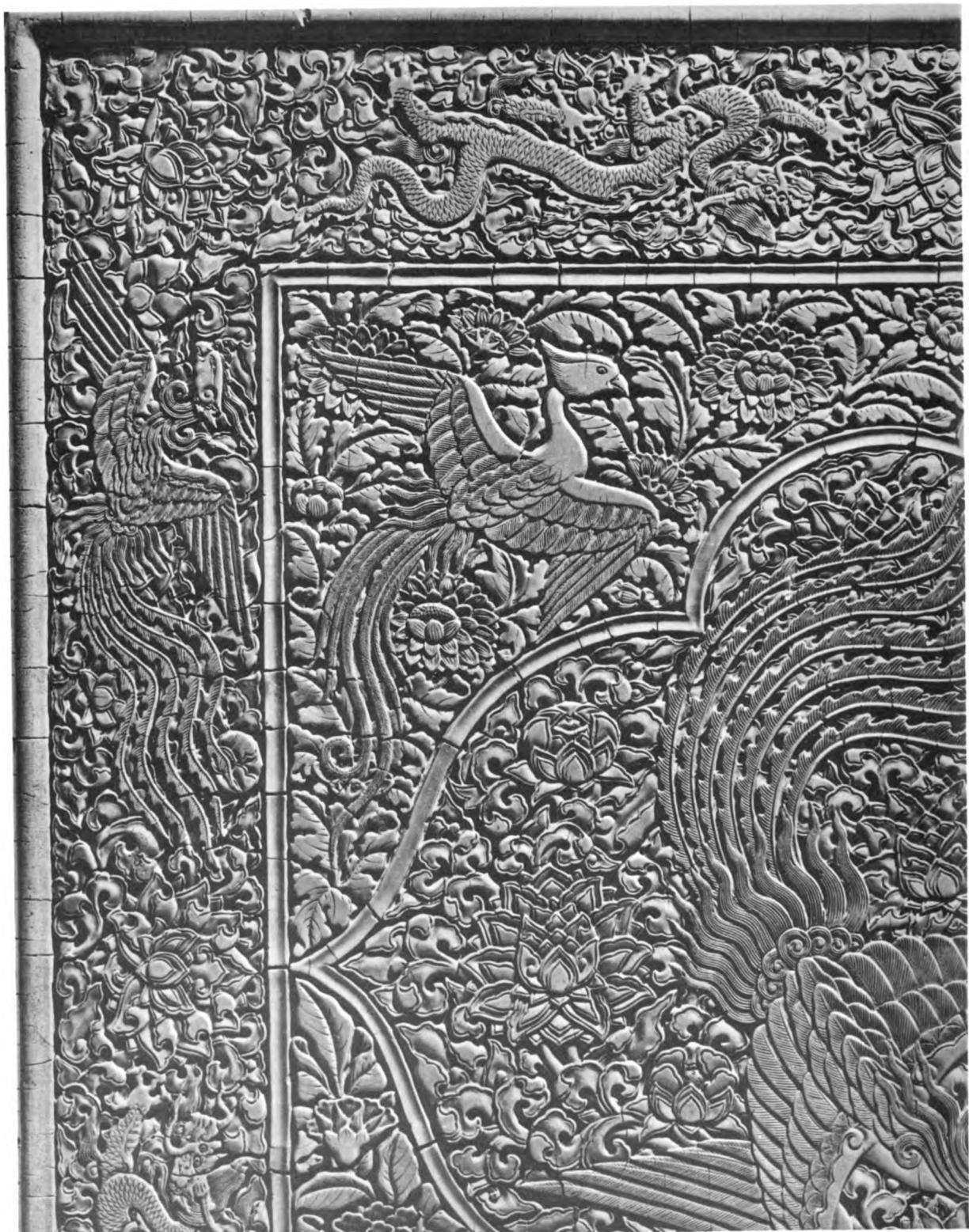
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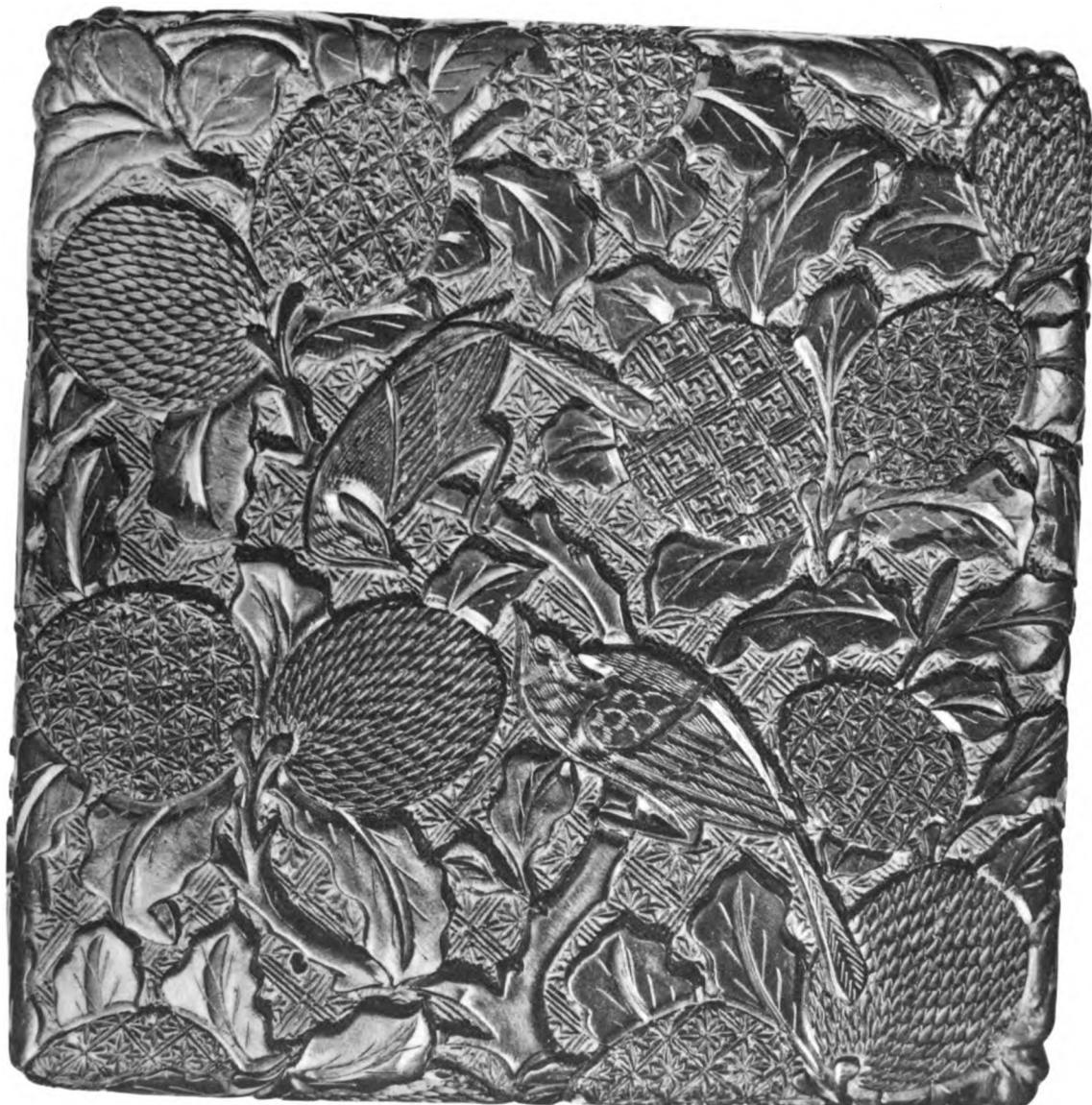
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